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Tributes to

Abraham Lincoln

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources providing testimonials lauding the 16th President of the United States

Surnames beginning with

Bo-Bro

From the files of the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

71.2009.085 02079

Congressional Record
February 23, 1953

Two Presidents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 23, 1953

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I including the following editorial:

TWO PRESIDENTS

During the month of February, our Nation will celebrate the births of two of our greatest Presidents, George Washington on the 22d and Abraham Lincoln on the 12th. At this milestone in our Nation's eventful history, it is perhaps fitting that we pause and pay our small tribute to these two great Americans, one the Father of our Country and the other the saviour of our Country. There is little we can add or say about either of these two men that would add to the lore of our history.

However, it appears to us that we, the people of today, take the sacrifices of George Washington all too lightly and merely recite the many proverbs concerning him. If we will but turn back to the Thirteen Colonies in this New World, who were dissatisfied with their governing authorities back in London. Washington was an immensely wealthy man, it would have been to his manifest interest to retain the status quo. True, he was burdened by the taxes being levied, but under the British Crown he did have the protection of their authority, which included the protection of his person and property rights. He had no way of knowing what the result of freedom from the crown might be. A state of anarchy could well have followed in its wake, which would be exceedingly dangerous to a man in his position. Therefore, by assuming the leadership of the revolutionary forces, he placed everything he had in serious jeopardy. In this simple fact, lies the true measure of his greatness.

Our Nation has produced greater military strategists than George Washington, but none have meant as much to our cause as he. He was a man of immense prestige and he used that for unselfish ends. He culminated his life in the public service as our first President, laying down in his Farewell Address a policy of enlightened self-interest that was to endure long past his life on this earth. We can even wonder what our present status would be today if George Washington had not appeared as our man of strength in our hour of grave need.

Just as Washington had appeared to give birth to our Nation, Abraham Lincoln appeared on the scene to prevent its death. Lincoln brought a character of serene dignity to the office of President. Although he is closely linked with the freeing of the slaves, it must appear to any close student of history that this was not his primary aim in public life. In his early public career as a Whig, which included one term in Congress, he let it be known that he considered that a problem of each individual State. In truth and in fact, he was a firm believer in the rights of each State to control its own affairs. It was only when a stronger principle entered the stage that a house divided could not stand, did he take up the cry of the abolitionists. He clearly foresaw a civil war but even if that be the cost it could not supersede the more important resolve that this Nation * * * shall ont perish from the earth.

Lincoln was an intellectual man, and he knew that the northern radicals were not the true friend of the Negro, he recognized that their primary purpose was to strike a telling blow to the economic power of the southern States. And yet, he knew that his course must be to reunite the Nation. Because this first Republican President followed his convictions he was probably the most scorned President ever to serve, scorned, because he insisted in fighting the war with only the purpose of saving the Union in view. He would have no part of punitive measures against the South.

We can only believe that he clearly foresaw that America would some day become a world power and he firmly believed that we would need the agricultural South toward that purpose. The assassin's bullet that struck him down set the South back a decade, and his successor Andrew Johnson faced impeachment when he attempted to carry out Lincoln's policy.

As we prepare to celebrate the births of these two great men, Lincoln last week and Washington next, we might pause and reflect on the price of greatness. Neither of these men, of course, lived to see the fruition of their dreams, but we must feel that they knew they had not served in vain. We should further resolve that we, the people of the United States, shall live up to their heritage, their strength, and their courage and shall not falter in the time of crisis. We have remarked in past editorials how the Members of Congress, of both parties in both Houses, some in victory, some in defeat, have joined ranks behind our new President promising him all the support he needs for constructive leadership in the world today. It is up to us, the people, to stand firm behind our Congressmen and our President and resolve to weather our present crisis.

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Pastor Bolton

Rev. H. W. Bolton, another Chicago divine, paints a word picture of Lincoln that ought to be preserved for every collection. It is as follows:

His biography is written in blood and tears; uncounted millions arise and call him blessed; a redeemed and reunited republic is his monument. History embalms the memory of Richard the lion-hearted; here, too, our martyr finds royal sepulture as Lincoln the tender-hearted.

He was brave. While assassins swarmed in Washington, he went everywhere, without guard or arms. He was magnanimous. He harbored no grudge, nursed no grievance; was quick to forgive; and was anxious for reconciliation. Hear him appealing to the South: "We are not enemies, but friends. Though passion may have strained, it must not break, the bond of our affection. The mystic cord of memory, stretching from every patriot grave to every heart and hearth-stone, all over this land, will yet swell with the chorus of the Union, when touched again, as it surely will be, by the better angels of our nature."

He was compassionate. With what joy he brought liberty to the enslaved. He was forgiving. In this respect he was strikingly suggestive of the Saviour. He was great. Time will but augment the greatness of his name and fame. Perhaps a greater man never ruled in this or in any other nation. He was good and pure and incorruptible. He was a patriot; he loved his country; he poured out his soul unto death for it. He was human, and thus touched the chord that makes the world akin.

Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine
His honor and the greatness of his name
Shall be, and make new nations; he shall flourish, and,
Like a mountain cedar, reach his branches
To all the planes about him—our children's children
Shall see this, and shall bless him.

Borah, William E.

BORAH TALKS TO MEN'S LEAGUE.

Lincoln's Principles Would Settle the Race Problem, He Says.

United States Senator William E. Borah of Idaho spoke to the Men's League of the Broadway Tabernacle, last night, at the league's celebration of the Lincoln Centennial. The Senator declared that the country must go back to Lincoln's principles to settle the race question.

"In these times of great material prosperity," said Senator Borah, "it would be well for America to keep as its patron saint the man (Lincoln) who said that the principles of the Declaration of Independence, against which the forces of hell could not prevail, were his also."

Pliny Williamson, President of the league, a former citizen of Idaho, presided at the dinner.

At the guests' table besides Senator Borah, were Gen. Daniel E. Sickles and Dr. George T. Stevens, a retired army surgeon, who read a paper on his experiences in the civil war, while on Lincoln's staff.

CONGER

Borland, William P.

WILLIAM P. BORLAND

Representative from Missouri

LINCOLN loved peace. He longed for it, prayed for it, planned for it, but it was peace with honor, peace with national safety, peace with the preservation of the Union. He would not suffer his country to remain unprepared and unprotected while he dreamed of universal peace.

Lincoln never lived in a fool's paradise. To him the facts of life were stern realities. Human rights were true and noble and worth preserving. If he were alive today and saw the terrific possibilities of scientific warfare when made subservient to the lust of power, he would, as Wilson has done, meet soberly and manfully the grave responsibility of national defense in a spirit as far removed from the hysteria of the military demagogue as from the happy hypnotism of the peace-at-any-price pacifist. He would never lead an aggressive war, nor suffer aggression, but he would stand like a rock for neutrality in the quarrels of others. Aye, more, he would be patient and long-suffering under provocation and let the voice of justice cool, if possible, the inflamed mind. Neither the false enthusiasm of friends nor the venomous taunts of foes would hurry him into a useless sacrifice of the lives of American boys.

With his heart already torn by the cries of bereaved wives and mothers, and his brain seared by the sight of mangled men, to preserve his country in peace, safety and prosperity, his own political fortunes would be gladly sacrificed.

Lincoln would give Mexico a chance. He sought no revenge, and would not, against the helpless. He loved the common people and trusted to their everlasting sense of right—the hope of free government. He would go over the heads of the swarming politicians direct to the hearts of the people, and they and he would hold fast to the faith in the destiny of Democracy.

Boughton, Russell C. Troy Record Feb. 10, 1909

Lincoln's generosity was at the bottom of his attending the theater on that fatal Good Friday, April 14, 1865. The war was ended and Lincoln and Grant, the two greatest heroes, in the estimation of the North, in the world. The theater management prevailed upon Lincoln to show himself to the people, in his hour of triumph, by attending the play of "Our American Cousin," and he consented to appear in a box, with his wife, for that purpose, simply to oblige the management, who had widely advertised that both the President and General Grant would be there. Consequently the house was crowded to see these great men. Lincoln went unwillingly. Grant couldn't go, he being on his way to the North. It was on this same day that the United States flag was raised over Fort Sumter, where it had been struck just four years before, and this event was being celebrated in Washington, making it a kind of holiday. Lincoln had as visitors on that evening several leading citizens from his own state of Illinois, including General Oglesby and Senator Yates; also Schuyler Colfax and Mr. Ashmun of Massachusetts, who had presided over the Chicago convention of 1860 which nominated Lincoln, and to these he talked about his visit to Richmond and told about the gavel of the Confederate Congress which he obtained there to give to the secretary of war, but which was then in the possession of Charles Sumner. Turning to Mr. Colfax, he said, "You are going with Mrs. Lincoln and myself to the theater, I hope?" Mr. Colfax said he must leave the city at once on his way to California and so could not go. Lincoln then said to him that Mr. Sumner had the gavel and to be sure to tell him. "I insist that he must give it to you, and tell him for me to hand it over." Mr. Ashmun then alluded to the gavel which he had used in the Chicago convention and which he still had, while the President and Mrs. Lincoln (who was in the parlor) were rising from their chairs to start for the theater. It was half an hour after the time they had intended to start, and they spoke about waiting half an hour longer, for the President left the house with much reluctance. His last words at the door, where he stopped for a moment, were to Mr. Colfax, giving him a message to the western miners about the prospective developments in their region, now peace had come at last. He shook hands with both Messrs. Colfax and Ashmun, with a pleasant "Good-bye," and left the house never to return to it alive. His last written words were written after he had got into the carriage, on a card on his knee, as a pass to Mr. Ashmun for an interview on the morrow.

Now, here's the latest piece of news which I have seen connected with Lincoln's death, which has just come to hand, printed in a periodical. One of the men who helped carry Lincoln's inanimate form to the house across the street is still living on his farm, hale and hearty, in Aurora, Indiana. He is Captain Oliver C. Gatch of Company G, Eighty-ninth Ohio regiment, the famous Eighty-ninth which went into action at Chickamauga 700 strong and came out with only 150 left after the battle. Gatch was taken prisoner, but afterwards escaped and arrived at Washington with his brother, Dr. Charles Gatch, on the very day of the assassination. Hearing a rumor that Lincoln and his wife and General Grant were to be at the theater that night, they both went and had seats where they could plainly see the President's box. Captain Gatch saw Booth enter the box and heard the shot. His brother, Dr. Gatch, was the first surgeon to reach Lincoln's side. The two Gatch brothers, with two others, then lifted the President and removed him in their arms to the house across the street, where he died at 7 the next morning. Captain Gatch's photo, as he now appears, is printed in the periodical here referred to.

In the light of succeeding events, it is probable that Lincoln would have been assassinated in any event, even if he had not attended the theater that evening, as Grant, Seward, Stanton and other great leaders were on the list of the murderers for assassination as well as he. The intent was to clean out the heads of the entire United States government at Washington (and this was not instigated by the enemy, the Southerners, either, for they had no hand in it) by a sudden and unlooked for swoop upon the persons marked as victims. But no one can extinguish this government in any way, for the words of the brave General Garfield, who shouted in the face of a frenzied mob intent on vengeance, "God is in Heaven and the government at Washington still lives," calming the mob by his eloquence, are always true.

How sadly the citizens of Troy went about the business of draping the streets in black the morning of April 15. Within an hour every scrap of black goods contained in all the stores of the city was purchased and the draping began at once. Those people who did not drape had to give an excuse to their neighbors for not doing it. No Copperhead anywhere dared open his mouth about Lincoln, or vengeance quick and awful would have been his portion.

It had been only a few months previous, during an extremely exciting campaign for the presidency, that Lincoln had been bitterly denounced by some Northerners as the cause of all the war and its misery and its expense, and his final re-election had come about largely by the votes of the soldiers in the field. Then followed that sad and classical last inaugural address of Lincoln's on March 4, 1865, which every one should read who is at all interested in this subject, and who in all the world is not interested in everything appertaining to the life and death of Lincoln, second only to Washington in lasting fame and glory of achievement.

RUSSELL C. BOUGHTON,
20 Walker avenue, Troy, N. Y.
February 5, 1909.

Boutell, Rep.

STOP FOR A EULOGY

HOUSE MEMBERS LISTEN TO MR. BOUTELL'S TRIBUTE.

RECALLS LINCOLN'S ENTRANCE

1909

PASSED HIS 40TH BIRTHDAY IN THE LOWER BODY.

SESSION OTHERWISE IS TAME

After Dragging the Agricultural Bill Through a Rocky Road for a Week the Members Pass It in Amended Form—February 12 Is Made a National Holiday by Congress.

Washington, D. C., Feb. 11.—Questioning the legality of the president's proclamation declaring tomorrow a special holiday in the District of Columbia and the territories because the joint resolution passed today by congress did not have the president's signature or his approval after its passage, attorneys representing the banking interests of this city tonight telegraphed, through Assistant Attorney Forster, to the president at Columbus, O., a request that he send his approval of the resolution.

Washington, D. C., Feb. 11.—Toward the close of the house today Representative Boutell, of Illinois, delivered a eulogy of Abraham Lincoln. He spoke of Lincoln's entry into the body as a member on December 6, 1847. Here in this house, he said, attending to its routine duties and responding to numerous roll calls, Lincoln passed his 40th birthday.

Mr. Boutell said it was altogether fitting that there should be put on the records of the house "some memorial of the greatest member of this national assembly of the people's representatives."

"No ruler," he said, "ever faced so hard a task, or one beset with so many pitfalls as that which confronted Lincoln when he entered upon the presidency. During all his term of service he had to deal, not only with open enemies, but with secret foes, thoughtless friends and unscrupulous rivals. He endured the whips and scorns of time with unfaltering patience and serenity, sometimes diverting the force of the heaviest blows with the shield of humor, and day after day he bore without a murmur a load of care that would have crushed a spirit that had not been nobly consecrated.

"But in the night watches, when deep sleep falleth on men, he trod alone the loftiest heights of human thought, communed in solitude with God, drank deep from the cool cistern of Christian charity, and came back to the burdens and the heat of another day with his soul purged of all envy, hatred and malice, and with the light of inspiration in his deep set eyes. We shall search in vain the messages, letters and speeches of Lincoln for one impatient, harsh or contemptuous word directed against those who sought to thwart his designs.

"The war powers vested in Lincoln gave him the influence of a dictator, yet he never used this power to destroy or to humiliate a personal enemy or a political rival."

When the "great conflict" was ended, Mr. Boutell said, Lincoln had only words of kindness and welcome for those that had taken arms against the government, and for the stricken south he cherished naught but feelings of tender compassion and brotherly affection. The universal verdict will be that among the world's greatest men, for moral elevation and pure nobility of spirit, Abraham Lincoln had no peer.

J WRIGHT

Boutell

A Eulogy on Lincoln.

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Bowen, A. L.

This Is Lincoln's Birthday

BY A. L. BOWEN.

Xi Sun Journal 2-12-26

This is the birthday of Abraham Lincoln—in Springfield—in Mongolia—in Kamchatka—in the South Sea Islands—in far away Annam, in Congo—in Tasmania—in Patagonia—in Greenland; among those who follow the Koran, or Confucian philosophy or Taon rituals, or the Bible of Christendom; everywhere it is the birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

A. L. BOWEN

* * *

"The mourning figure walks and will not rest," says Lindsay. "Near the old court house, pacing up and down, or by his homestead, or in shadowed yards, he lingers where his children used to play."

The poet describes the "bronze lank man! His suit of ancient black, a famous high top hat, and plain, worn shawl" that walks "here at midnight, in our little town."

* * *

Lincoln's birthday is peculiarly and distinctively our heritage to preserve and honor. We shall close our schools and cease our toil. In the little hall on the third floor of the Sangamon county court house, we shall hear raised and intermingled with his own voice, the words of a Serbian lad, now grown famous in free America. And we shall learn from him that "it is portentious, and a thing of state" that this "mourning figure" walks not alone "here at midnight, in our little town" but throughout the earth.

On the Balkan hillside where shepherds tend their flocks "he lingers" with children and whispers to them the beautiful song of opportunity and freedom. "He cannot sleep upon his hillside now. He is among us as in times before."

* * *

Lindsay's sublime poem makes us sole beneficiaries of his presence. But Michael Pupin comes to us today, a living embodiment of the truth that Lincoln's spirit dwells among all men and with the lowly.

When Michael Pupin was a small boy, he lived with his parents in the hills of Serbia and watched their sheep on the uplands. We can see him, dreamy, fair faced, and longing—prisoner in the open; but prisoner as completely as though bars restrained him. Environment, tradition, poverty, ignorance bind him to his lowly task.

But they can not imprison his soul or stop his heart's throbbing. A voice comes to him. He can not see who speaks but he knows the name. It is the spirit of Abraham Lincoln, "walking alone" in full glow of day, among the vales and passes of Serbian mountains. Michael listens and seems to understand. The voice tells him of America, of opportunity, of freedom of body and of mind and of soul. We see him pondering, more serious, a great struggle in his breast, the conflict between home and parents, holding him and the still small voice urging him on. We watch him surrender to the beckoning hands that he alone sees. He puts his trust in the "bronzed lank man! the quaint great figure that men love."

* * *

We see him again on the wharf at Hamburg, selling his clothing for passage. We see him, chilled and suffering in the blusterous March winds in mid-ocean, huddling close to the only warm thing, the ship's funnels; he has not money enough even for a blanket and nourishing food.

We see him in New York harbor, at the custom house, with nothing to declare; unable to speak English, about to be sent back; his abject poverty, his youth, his loneliness, make him a poor prospect for our citizenship.

He knows one word, "Lincoln." He speaks it to the kindly old man on duty. The customs official interprets that single term and knows what the lad means. With vision and human understanding, almost divine, the officer reads the youth's story and aspiration and admits him to his adopted land. What a day for American and for human happiness was that when this customs officer allowed this boy to pass in.

* * *

We follow Michael through the lonely, cold streets; often he is hungry; often he is discouraged; often he is insulted and humiliated. His will is inflexible; his faith, inscrutable. The single voice of hope and inspiration is joined by another; Franklin speaks and shows him his destiny. Michael accepts the dictation to be a scholar, a teacher, a master of electricity.

* * *

We follow him through school and college; we are aglow with enthusiasm as he overcomes all obstacles and dazzles the world with his discoveries. We see him making long distance telephony, useful to all man; the transmission of high tension current over great distances is solved by his magic; he contributes to radio those inventions and discoveries that make it the servant as readily of the poorest as of the richest. He has projected the world into the lowliest dwelling and the most pretentious mansion; he has made necessary one common medium of expression for all peoples and tribes. Wherever man lives today, he possesses some treasure for which he is indebted to Michael Pupin.

* * *

Today we shall hear him speak, hear his voice where Lincoln's was heard nearly seventy years ago for the oppressed and enslaved. Pupin speaks as a soul that listened to that voice, years later, calling to him on the hillsides of Serbia.

He too has become a liberator; his genius is freeing the mind from ignorance and superstition and bringing men into one family.

What an analogy in the lives of these two men! What a significant event in the world's progress and history is Michael Pupin's visit to Lincoln's tomb today! It is as worthy of Lindsay's inspired pen as the vision the poet recorded of Lincoln at midnight, walking the streets of Springfield, pondering the problems of the earth, because he could not sleep upon his hillside, while nations were at war. Who shall say that such as Pupin and scores of others in all lands, hearing Lincoln's voice and responding to its prompting, shall not "bring white peace to the world that he may sleep upon his hillside again."

Bowers, Claude G.

CAREER OF LINCOLN TRACED BY BOWERS

Developed by Sufferings and Struggles of Lonely Years, Says Speaker.

By the Associated Press. 1929

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., February 12.—Claude G. Bowers of New York, keynoter of the last Democratic national convention, stood today in the Sangamon County courtroom, whose walls once echoed to the voice of Abraham Lincoln, and painted a parallel between the Emancipator and Stephen A. Douglas, his lifelong political rival.

"Had Lincoln and Douglas both died in the first year of the Civil War, the historical status of one would not have differed greatly from that of the other. The Lincoln of history was developed, or brought out, by the sufferings and struggles of four blood-soaked, tear-drenched years of loneliness and anxiety," Bowers said.

"Politicians scorned Lincoln to the end of his life, and the people will love him to the end of time.

Two Great Leaders Discussed.

"No two great leaders of opposing forces in all history have been more strangely identified in their careers. They were cast for opposing roles in many a drama of their day, their lives touched at many points, and as long as Lincoln is remembered, Douglas cannot be forgotten.

"By all the dictates of convention all the advantage in the contest should have been with Douglas. When he first looked out upon the world from a neat cottage, in the thoroughly settled town of Brandon, in Vermont, Lincoln, the child, in his fourth year, was toddling about a sordid cabin in a Kentucky clearing. The father of one was an educated and successful physician; that of the other the most tragic of all failures, an unsuccessful, illiterate ne'er-do-well. Douglas had the background of success; Lincoln of failure.

Prediction Impossible.

"Here, to me, is one of the mysteries of Lincoln. Nine years before the great debates, eleven years before the presidential contest of 1860, no prescience could have foreseen the possibility of the reversal of the positions of Lincoln and Douglas.

"The last phase, while Douglas was dealing with what we now know to have been phantoms and fighting shadows, Lincoln, with inspired vision, was struggling for the eternal verities on which depend the cause of humanity and the ultimate preservation of American democracy."

Bowers, Claude

Bowers, Claude

Bowers Lauds Lincoln and Douglas

(The complete text of the Lincoln Day address by Claude G. Bowers will be found on page 6).

Ill State — 2-12-1929

The capital city of Illinois, where Lincoln lies, today paid due honor to the memory of its most beloved and revered citizen on the occasion of the one hundred and twentieth anniversary of his birth.

Each year the commemoration becomes more and more a solemn ceremony. In other years when those who knew Lincoln were numbered by the thousands, February 12 became a day on which these men and women polished the memory of the golden moment when they had seen Lincoln pass, had heard him speak, had felt the pressure of his hand.

First hand Lincoln stories gave way to historians' comment at the annual public meeting in the historic circuit court room of the courthouse this afternoon, under auspices of the Lincoln Centennial association, when Claude G. Bowers, chief editorial writer of the New York World, painted a dramatic word picture of the differences, the life-long struggle but ultimate union of Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator and Stephen Arnold Douglas, the Little Giant.

Logan Hay Preside:

Logan Hay, president of the Lincoln Centennial association, presided at the gathering, which drew an audience that overflowed the court room in which years ago when it was the house of representatives chamber, Lincoln voiced the immortal phrase, "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

The speech by the keynoter at the last democratic national convention proved again that he is one of the nation's leading orators. A typical example of Mr. Bowers' ability to tell much in a few words was heard when he compared Lincoln and Douglas as to their speaking abilities. In naming Douglas the master debater, Lincoln the master orator, Mr. Bowers said "Posterity knows that Douglas spoke; it knows what Lincoln said."

The New York editor pointed out that the depth and power of Lincoln was less appreciated by his political associates seventy years ago than by his rival, Douglas.

"On the eve of their great debates," Bowers declared, "Douglas knew he was girding up his loins for a supreme effort when many of the followers of Lincoln were reconciling themselves to the political burial of their leader." The audacity of Lincoln's utterances alarmed the strategists of that day, he asserted.

Lauds Douglas.

Bowers next spoke praise for Douglas. Lauding his abilities as a statesman and orator, he declared, "Lincoln no more underestimated Douglas than Douglas Lincoln."

Douglas, Bowers explained, had the background of success, Lincoln that of failure. Douglas, he said, was given an education while Lincoln was forced to fight for his knowledge.

"The year that Douglas was admitted to the bar," Bowers said, "Lincoln went to the legislature where he soon was joined by Douglas, and these two youths instantly took rank as debaters and managers of men. In those days Lincoln was more the conventional politician, Douglas more the statesman. It was Douglas, not Lincoln, who offered the constructive measures. And it was at this time that the first personal clash of the two men came when Lincoln voted against the election of Douglas as state's attorney."

Bowers exploded the tradition that Lincoln declared war on slavery after he witnessed the sale from the auction block at New Orleans, declaring that Lincoln did not become deeply interested in the slavery question until twenty years after.

Describing the attitude of both men toward slavery, the speaker said that Douglas, if he believed slavery wrong, did not openly say so. It was pointed out that Douglas' knowledge of the desperate danger to the union may have influenced him to fight for its preservation with or without slavery. Both finally came, however, Bowers said, to the common ground that "the union must be preserved."

Dramatizes Douglas' Aid

The speaker passed over the presidential campaign in a few words, praising Douglas' futile efforts to effect a compromise. He then pictured Douglas taking his place beside Lincoln at the inaugural rites.

Then, with war at hand, " a carriage rolled up to the portico of the white house, a man alighted, and a moment later Stephen A. Douglas had reported to Abraham Lincoln for duty."

Bowers then told of their midnight conference, saying, "And when that night the news flashed over the country that Douglas had been with Lincoln and had pledged himself to 'sustain the president in his constitutional functions, to preserve the union and maintain the government,' a million Douglas followers saluted the president and prepared to march."

Bowers then praised Douglas' efforts and told of how at last, worn and weary with his efforts, his death came.

Lincoln's patience and genius during the war brought unstinted praise from Bowers who closed his address with these words: "The politicians scorned him to the end of his life and the people will love him to the end of time."

In coming to Springfield, Mr. Bowers refused all other speaking engagements as he is writing a book on the reconstruction period. While best known now as an orator, he gained first fame as a writer of historical works.

Bowers, Claude

Lincoln Birthday Anniversary Commemorated by Springfield; Annual Banquet To Be Tonight

2d State Register

Lauds Lincoln

CLAUDE G. BOWERS

By V. Y. DALLMAN

(Editor-in-chief of the Illinois State Register) 2-12-1929

Claude G. Bowers, newspaper man, historian and public speaker, has scored another triumph—his greatest!

His address today on "Lincoln and Douglas" was more than brilliant in diction and colorful as a word painting of those two towering figures silhoutted against the greatest drama in the history of the union. It was too graphic and realistic to be called a speech. It was the baring of the soul by a genius inspired. It was a timely renewal of reverence for Lincoln and a veritable verbal re-incarnation of Stephen A. Douglas.

Surely all who heard it, and all who study it in these columns today, will not only hold in their hearts a deeper affection for Lincoln, but will agree with the suggestion often made by the STATE REGISTER that our memorials to Lincoln should be on a much greater and broader scope, and that greater homage should be paid here and elsewhere to Stephen A. Douglas who shares Lincoln's immortality.

Only a man of Bowers' type who thinks, writes and speaks in terms of democracy and humanity could find that close communion with the spirit of Lincoln and the spirit of Douglas which he breathed into his beautiful panorama today!

"Where is the Issue?"

Bowers' books are great, yet it required his Jackson day dinner address in Washington one year ago to properly introduce him to the nation and the world as a power in public utterance. Characteristic was his answer at that time to bewildered democratic leaders who asked "Where is the issue?"

Bowers answered:

"With monopoly encouraged, with corruption flagrant and unafraid, with big business in the saddle, booted and spurred, and the farmer in the ditch, and with a tariff system that picks the pockets of the millions to the tune of billions under the protection of police, if the party of Jefferson and Jackson can find no issue, it is time for it to go into a court of moral and intellectual bankruptcy and apply for a receiver."

His address at that time so thrilled his hearers throughout the nation that his selection to deliver the keynote address at the democratic national convention in Houston came as a matter of course.

That was my first contact with Bowers personally. Small in stature, frail, and physically so unlike a Roosevelt, a Bryan, a Wilson, a Lincoln or even an Al Smith as to be disappointing, it made me wonder as he mounted the platform and stood before the microphone in that magnificent Houston tabernacle, how he could deliver. I confess to thinking of little Will Hays. Forgive me. Bowers, little editor of a great newspaper—The New York World—grew greater with every sentence he uttered and finally, when he came down to the press stand to sit with us perspiring purveyors of news and views, he looked as big to me as that mountain of a man, Ollie James, who presided over the famous Bryan-Wilson-Clark battle at Baltimore in 1912, and caused me to think of Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh who now presides over the world.

His smashes at "privilege and pillage" reminded me of Bryan at Baltimore, San Francisco and New York. Though Bowers lacked Bryan's dynamic personality, he possessed Bryan's invective, epigrammatic force and verbal vitality. His statement that the "plunderbund of the power monopoly" was tightening its grip upon the nation's natural power resources, particularly caught my fancy because I had predicted that that great issue would echo into the national conventions. Bowers set the convention aflame with such utterances as these:

Throws off Lincolnian Mask

"For forty years the party in power has conjured with the name of Lincoln while following the leadership of Hamilton; and now, after eight years of successful privilege and pillage it has thrown off the Lincolnian mask. It could hardly keep the Lincolnian mask on its face and Sinclair's money in its chest."

Of Woodrow Wlison he said at that time:

"He lifted the people to such heights of moral grandeur as they had never known before, in his name and purpose made hearts beat faster in lowly places where his praise was sung in every language in the world. And when at last, body broken but his spirit soaring still, he fell stricken, while still battling for his faith, there passed to time and to eternity and to all mankind the everlasting keeping of the immortal memory of Woodrow Wilson."

In his concluding challenge to democracy to go forth and do its duty he said:

"The time has come. The battle hour has struck. Then to your tents, O, Israel."

Bowers Greater Here Today.

But the New York editor was greater today in Springfield than at that Jackson day dinner in Washington or when he thrilled that audience at Houston. Though he insisted that Lincoln and Douglas are incomparable, he pictured them in his address today more effectively than they have ever been cast upon the screen of public imagination. The manner in which he brings Douglas up to the full stature of his statesmanship and patriotism without detracting any from the magnitude of Lincoln, and in fact, making Lincoln greater by the comparison, is nothing short of a classic.

Bowers revealed Douglas as "one of the most majestic figures in American history."

"As long as Lincoln can be re-

membered, Douglas cannot be forgotten," he said, adding that "no one need to depress the stature of one to maintain that of the other."

Continuing with his measure of the two great men who formed his subject today, Bowers said that Douglas "envisioned, as only Benton did, the westward march of an adventurous people to the redemption of the wilderness to the purposes of man." This picturesque sentence is in his comparison of the wealth of opportunity in which Douglas was reared with the abject poverty in which Lincoln grew to immortality.

Bowers' Epigrams

Here are a few epigrams on Douglas by Bowers which will echo through the years:

"Douglas' devotion was to the constitution; his passion was the union; he fought throughout his life for one—and for the other he died, as literally as did Lincoln."

"Douglas was the speaker of the senate and Lincoln of the open spaces and the market places; Douglas was the logician and Lincoln the orator; Douglas was advocate and Lincoln was artist."

"Posterity knows that Douglas spoke; it knows what Lincoln said."

"Douglas was dictatorial; Lincoln persuasive."

"Douglas was arrogantly commanding; Lincoln gently conciliatory."

"Douglas moved among his followers with the haughtiness of a conqueror; and Lincoln mingled with his workers with the familiarity of a comrade."

"Douglas issued his ukases with the rattle of the sword; Lincoln, like Jefferson, insinuated suggestions with a smile."

Bowers showed very conclusively today that both Lincoln and Douglas were disciples of Jefferson. He insisted that "Douglas was an aggressive Jacksonian all his life; and Lincoln became a Jacksonian in the crisis of his career."

It was in the last phase of the rivalry of Lincoln and Douglas that they crossed swords on slavery and yet, he says, "even here, they had their contacts," and it was only because, as Bowers says, that "Douglas loved the union more than he hated slavery" that he and Lincoln were in disagreement over the national policy in their brilliant presidential battle of 1860.

Few word paintings in literature grip the interest and stir the soul like Bowers' descriptive today of Lincoln's farewell to Springfield, his entering upon his presidential responsibilities at Washington and Lincoln taking the oath of office with Douglas sitting by his side and holding his hat.

He follows with a picture of Douglas calling upon Lincoln at the white house amidst the preliminary rumbling of the great war and says that "more tremendous than the conference of the Roman triumvirate on the fall of Caesar to divide the world, was this midnight conference of Lincoln and Douglas to prevent the division of the nation—and more inspiring."

But the address must be read carefully in detail if you would catch the inspirational beauty of it, concluding as it does with that magnificent sentence in final tribute to Lincoln:

"The politicians scorned him to the end of his life and the people will love him to the end of time."

Bowers, Claude G.

Editor & Publisher The Fourth Estate for February

BOWERS PAYS BRILLIANT TRIBUTE TO LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

New York Evening World Editorial Writer Delivers Lincoln Day Address in Historic Springfield Building Where Emancipator Served as a Legislator

By telegraph to EDITOR & PUBLISHER

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Feb. 12—Claude G. Bowers, historian, writer, Democratic keynoter at the Houston convention, traveler and an editorial writer for the *New York Evening World,* in a Lincoln Day address here, the home of Abraham Lincoln, today paid brilliant tribute to the life-long struggles of Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, and their ultimate union to save the United States from being torn asunder.

Mr. Bowers spoke in the famous capitol building, now the county court house, where Lincoln, as state representative, evoked his famous immortal "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

In surroundings reminiscent of the great advance of the martyred President, Mr. Bowers paid glowing tribute to Douglas, declaring that "there has been a foolish tendency to assume that there is something of disrespect to Lincoln in doing justice to the rival who finally, in a crisis, became his most powerful ally. One need not depress the historic stature of the one to maintain the other."

"Stephen A. Douglas is one of the most majestic figures in all our history," he said. "He had a genius for statesmanship. He envisioned the westward march of an adventurous people to the redeeming of the wilderness for man. His devotion was to the Constitution, his passion the union. He fought throughout his life for one, and for the other died at length as literally as Lincoln.

"Lincoln no more underestimated Douglas than Douglas Lincoln. By all the dictates of convention, all the advantage in the contests of these two men should have been with Douglas. His father was an educated, successful physician, the father of Lincoln most tragic of failures—an unsuccessful and illiterate ne'er-do-well.

"The year Douglas was admitted to the bar, Lincoln was elected to the legislature, and these two youths instantly took rank as debaters and managers of men.

"One year later their contact tightened in their common life in Springfield. A few years later we find them, stumping the state in opposition, and the renown of the both spread.

"And then Douglas forged ahead with his election to Congress. The next three years represented the most fruitful for Douglas, the least attractive for Lincoln. In the great arena the 'Little Giant' was amazing many by his brilliance.

"Thus while Lincoln was resorting to common, uninspiring methods of seeking a Congressional nomination, Douglas was moving to the Senate. Lincoln left the House two years later without any prestige, while Douglas was sweeping forward, looming larger, more imposing.

"Now note this evidence of their relative positions.

"Nine years before the great debates, eleven years before the Presidential struggle of 1860, no human prescience could have foreseen the possibility of a reversal of their positions.

"Douglas was more debator than orator. It was his fluency that set him apart from other orators, yet, while there are many with whom he can be compared, there is no one with whom to compare Lincoln—among the moderns he made a style.

"Thus Douglas was the speaker of the senate and Lincoln of the open spaces and the market places. The audiences listening to the two were pleased according to their partialities—each convinced that his favorite was the master.

"Posterity knows that Douglas spoke. It knows what Lincoln said.

"Now both were consummate politicians, else neither would have had the chance to demonstrate capacity as statesmen—and here they differed too.

"Both understood the value of organization, and cultivated the leaders down to the trenches. Douglas was dictatorial; Lincoln persuasive.

"Douglas was commanding; Lincoln was conciliatory. Douglas moved with the haughtiness of conqueror; Lincoln mingled with the familiarity of comrade.

"Douglas issued ukases with the rattling of a sword; Lincoln insinuated suggestions with a smile.

"It is possible to show that on fundamentals Lincoln and Douglas were not remote. Both declared adherence to the Jeffersonian doctrines.

"In the last days of their rivalries, these gladiators crossed swords on slavery—and yet, even here, they had their contracts. They agreed the institution of slavery was protected by the Constitution.

"With the passing of time, a tradition has grown up that Lincoln in his early years swore war on slavery; but it was twenty years after he saw a slave auction in New Orleans that he concerned himself with the problem.

"Nor does Douglas's silence on the subject mean that he thought it right but, as one said of him, he never criticised a wrong unless he could provide a remedy, and he saw no remedy. Thus for years, Douglas saw even better than Lincoln, in Springfield, the danger. Thus with the mistakes he made, the compromises he made, like Webster, he has been more damned. He loved the Union more than he hated slavery.

"Thus at length the paths of these two led to this common Jacksonian principle—the Union—it must be preserved.

"Nothing more need be said on the subjects of their debates, nor of the campaign of 1860. With the division of Democracy, Lincoln's victory was inevitable. (over)

"After Lincoln's retirement, no one understood better than he that he had failed to measure up. It is impossible to believe that he did not make comparisions with Douglas and that the comparisions were gall and wormwood.

"In the quiet five years that followed, he had the time to take inventory. He came to know himself in the rides around the circuit, in the lonely vigils of the country taverns and in the silences and solitudes, far from the cheering multitudes that beset Douglas.

"Thus when the Kansas-Nebraska act called him again to face his old antagonist, it was an old antagonist, it was a new Lincoln that appeared—a deeper, sadder, stronger, simpler, humbler, firmer Lincoln.

IN FLORIDA SURF

Miss Ruth Dear, niece of Joseph A. Dear, editor of the *Jersey City* (N. J.) *Journal,* is spending her winter vacation at Palm Beach, Fla. The camera has caught her as she emerges from the surf after her morning swim.

"It was with the realization of his defeat that Douglas rose to his greatest stature as a patriot. If he had lost, the Union was preserved. The simple man of Springfield had risen on his misfortunes to the height of power. But we see Douglas hastening to the senate, trying to compromise, hold the states together, and Douglas failed—the day of compromise was over.

"And then the day of the great defiances on the forces of disunion. The scene of the east portico of the capitol when Lincoln took the oath and Douglas sitting by his side to hold his hat. I challenge you to search the records of the great rivalries of all time and find me a more thrilling picture for a canvas.

"And now one more picture. It was on the day that sent a cold chill to the hearts of the people, when secession unlimbered its guns and fired on Sumter. It meant war, it was war, the day has passed and night had come and there are lights in the windows of the White House. A carriage stops at midnight and a man alights and a moment later Stephen A. Douglas reports to Abraham Lincoln for duty. The rivalries of years have been dropped, the political differences forgotten, and among all the millions of the land, these two men whose unity of purpose was most essential to the salvation of the state sat down together to plan a campaign of defense. And now goes out the call for volunteers, and now Douglas worn and sick, is rallying the friends to the Union.

"And then, too soon, one summer's day, crowds throng the street before the hotel in Chicago where Douglas lay dying. The death of Douglas was one of the great casualties of the war.

"And though his spirit passed it hovered about the lonely man whom Douglas crossed so many times in life—hovered about him when so many of the living had strayed away.

"What a rivalry, what a union, these choice spirits who met early in opposition, had met at last with a common purpose, a common passion, a common patriotism on the top of the hill beside the guns where fluttered the flag of the Union to the preservation of which they both gave their lives.

"As he passed through the flames of four years of blood-drenched war, all that was ordinary, all that was small in Lincoln was consumed, and all that was fine and noble was left, and thus he stands on the pedestal of eternity, a figure of pure gold.

"The politicians scorned him to the end of his life, and the plain people will love him to the end of time.

"These two marvelous men who fought each other throughout their lives will live in a companionship of glory, vivid and imposing, through the generations."

Bowman, Dr. Isaiah

Present Times Likened to 1861

Clear Thinking About Future Is Urged

Persons everywhere were challenged by Dr. Isaiah Bowman, president of Johns Hopkins University, to look at the future and to stop criticizing the past if peace —a permanent peace and not merely an armistice—is to be obtained for the world at large.

Addressing the Detroit Economic Club in the Hotel Book-Cadillac he explained that he was stating propositions which must not be taken as the panacea for obtaining peace but merely was making his contribution to constructive thinking. By thus stating his propositions, he said, he hoped to make others think and give utterance to their thoughts.

Dr. Bowman compared the present world crisis with the year 1861 in American history. At that time people, politicians, parties and sections of the country were divided about slavery, about whether Fort Sumter should be abandoned or held, about the Abolitionists.

Cites Lincoln's Example

"Confusion marked the year 1861," he said, "as it marks today. Then Abraham Lincoln cut through that confusion with the proposition, 'the Union must be preserved,' and stuck to that proposition in season and out of season.

"After the Union had been preserved, Lincoln told the people, the lesser matters—slavery, Fort Sumter, the Abolitionists, etc.—could be dealt with. In short, Lincoln's proposition set people thinking.

"Today I believe that Proposition No. 1 is that people must be fed. There are 20,000,000 men under arms and millions are employed in war industries. They are busy because there's a war.

"If peace came suddenly tomorrow, we'd have to let all those war-industry workers go and the soldiers would have to be demobilized and there would be millions of hungry persons thrown upon the world.

War Would Be Preferred

"Faced with such a proposition we would want the war to continue, since peace would be so difficult.

"Intellectually war is easy and peace is hard. You can get unity at once by force, but apparently we have failed intellectually in peace, for when there's peace, that's where the tough thinking comes in.

"Hungry men are desperate men, and they have a right to be so. That is why I think that feeding the hungry is the primary proposition in all considerations of peace."

Addresses Club

DR. ISAIAH BOWMAN

isolationists as "simple-minded persons moving in a dangerous groove."

He explained that some day when the world in general agrees on the fact that great armaments are not needed, then it will be on the road to sane thinking.

"Who has the answers to the problems of today?" he asked. "Not the harassed and busy officials, not those who keep silent. Organizations do not count if they just meet and talk over these things by themselves. If anyone knows the answers to today's problems, for heavens sake, let him or her speak up.

"Both peace and war are too important to leave to soldiers to settle. It is the people who must settle these issues. They are the only ones who can."

Dr. Bowman explained that he had borrowed his second proposition from Charles F. Kettering, vice president and director of research of General Motors Corp.

"The more armaments we have, the poorer we are," he said. "There are two forces at work today: one is wasting substance, the other is constructive.

Says Guard Is Needed

"This country, because it is not in a vacuum, must be guarded, adequately guarded, and for that reason we need a large navy. I advocate a larger navy than we have now, remembering all the time that as it gets bigger, we get poorer because we have to pay for it."

Dr. Bowman scored pacifists—those who condemn war as wrong and do nothing about it—and

Boyden, Eddie

Cole Explodes Fictions of Abe Lincoln

Tolerant of Modern Foibles

By EDDIE BOYDEN

Scientific tallbrows who love to delve into the possibilities of longevity take great pleasure in assuring us that within the next generation or so, everyone of us will be up and doing at the age of 100 years.

Centenarian Is Optimist's Exhibit A

One glimpse at Cornelius Cole, former United States Senator from California, and the argument seems to be in favor of the scientific tallbrows hereinbefore referred to.

Cornelius Cole will chalk up his one hundreth birthday on the September 17, if he lives.

To hear Cornelius Cole hark back over a centenarian lifetime is akin to reading history of another day and age.

Consider: Cornelius Cole was 24 years old two years before gold was discovered in California.

Here is a man who went through the rough and ready days of '49, a man who was a close friend of Abraham Lincoln, a man who served in both houses of Congress, and a man who had an interesting part to play in the purchase of Alaska.

He scarcely seems more than 75, this sun-tanned, unwrinkled, keen-minded centenarian.

Standing out in his memory more than anything else are his recollections of Abraham Lincoln.

Description Of Lincoln Is Refuted

It takes Cornelius Cole, close friend of Lincoln, to explode two popular falacies which hover about the memory of the martyred president:

1—Abraham Lincoln was not a crude, unpolished man.

2—Abraham Lincoln did not write out the famous Gettysburg speech.

But let Cornelius tell it:

"If I have never said anything worth while, I would like the Americans of today, to know that Abraham Lincoln was not the crude, coarse man of popular conception. On the contrary, while he was of huge frame, Lincoln was a polished gentleman."

Such is the opinion of a man who sat on the same platformn from which Lincoln delivered his immortal Gettysburg speech, and saw him five hours before the assassin, Booth, shot him.

"And, too," Cole said yesterday at the Palace Hotel, "don't you ever believe that Lincoln wrote out his Gettysburg address. Why, he didn't even know he was to be called on for a speech that day. Edward Everett was the orator of the day and after he finished a two-hour speech, Lincoln was called upon. Take it from me, Lincoln spoke from his heart, and he didn't read his speech. I was there on the platform and if he had read his speech I certainly would have noticed it.

"Lincoln was a philosopher. I remember those days when we feared that his life was in danger. I remember speaking to him about it one day and I urged him to exercise great care.

Scorned to Fear Hand Of Assassin

"'Cole,' he said to me, 'one man's life is as sweet to him as another's and no man would take my life without losing his.' I always will believe that Lincoln was the greatest man of my time. We were contemporaries. Lincoln was only twelve years older than I."

Politics are little different than in 1866 when Cole was elected to the United States Senate from California.

"With this difference," Cole explained. "In those days it seemed to me that men seeking high office had a higher regard for national ideals. Today men spend tremendous sums of money to be elected to the Senate. When I ran for the Senate in '66, I didn't spend a cent."

Flappers have not been unnoticed by Lincoln's friend.

Sees No Vice In Festive Flappers

"A lot of people rave about the viciousness of the flapper," Cole said, "but, for the life of me, I can't see anything wrong about the clean expression of youngsters. These things always work out right in the end. In my young days, perhaps, the girls didn't talk as much or as frankly as they do today, but that is nothing to the discredit of either. I am strong for the youngsters of today. They are able-bodied and able-minded. Perhaps they go to extremes. Youth always did have that habit. But don't you worry—a generation hence these same flappers will be worrying about their own children."

A lot of Cornelius Cole's own friends don't know it, but he is the only living member of the United States Senate who sat in on the impeachment proceedings against President Johnson.

"I've outlived them all," Cole said, "and I don't know why. I've no rules for longevity except the exercise of common sense. I've always avoided extremes and excesses and I've always thanked God for a sense of humor. I believe it was a French physician who once said that when a man reaches the age of 40, he either is his own doctor or a fool—and I've always tried not to be a fool. I arise early, eat little, and I drink for my health when I can get it. I don't think much of prohibition. Seems too much like paternalism to me. I've always been in favor of abolishing the saloon, but I believe a man has a right to his wine and beer or ale."

Doesn't Think Much of Prohibition

Keeping out of debt is the main task of a nation or an individual, according to Cole.

"This Nation and the people in it should get out of debt and stay out of debt," Cole said. "That is the biggest problem the United States must solve."

The recent celebration of the Days of '49 in Sacramento was not at all to the liking of Cornelius Cole.

"Why," Cole said, "they had some of the boys waltzing around town in plug hats. The very idea of a plug hat in '49! I hate to explode such a fond belief, but as a matter of cold fact the plug hat was not introduced in California until 1852. I was there and I well remember the day the first plug hat showed up.

Plug Hat Of '49 Only An Illusion

"Had a forty-niner worn a plug hat when gold was discovered, I hate to think what would have happened to hat and wearer. History as it appears in our books is very funny to me, a fellow who hasn't sense enough to die.

By way of biography, it may be well to say that Cornelius Cole was born in Seneca county, New York, on September 17, 1822—100 years ago next month.

He was admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court of New York May 1, 1848.

Seventy-four years later, or last month, he argued a case before the Superior Court of Los Angeles county.

Yes, talking with Cornelius Cole is just like a voice from the past.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 12, 1922

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE,

Boynton, Rev. Dr.

Abraham Lincoln;

by

The Rev. Dr. Boynton

"We haven't forgotten Lincoln, have we? That meeting took me back to days just eran at the close of the after the war," said a vet- Brooklyn Institute's meeting in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, held in the Opera House of the Academy of Music, yesterday afternoon. It was eminently successful. There was much enthusiasm. The audience occupied every seat and stood in the open spaces, while the boxes, held for the families of the members of the Institute's board of trustees and council, took in also many others. It was noticeable that a great many wore some sort of a Lincoln medal. Robert A. Gaylor, organist of Christ Church, Clinton street, arrived early and played for awhile on the new organ so that people had a chance to hear it as a solo instrument, and to realize that the just installed instrument is of pleasant tone.

A. Augustus Healy, president of the board of trustees of the Brooklyn Institute, presided, while members of that board, and of the council, had seats at the front of the stage. Near Mr. Healy were placed the speakers, the Right Rev. Mgr. Edward W. McCarty, LL.D., rector of St. Augustine's Roman Catholic Church, who offered the opening prayer; Percy Mackaye of Cornish, N. H., who gave the Centennial Ode, and the Rev. Nehemiah Boynton, D.D., pastor of the Clinton Avenue Congregational Church, who delivered the address. Back of these were the men and women of the Brooklyn Oratorio Society, Walter Henry Hall, conductor, and above them were draped huge American flags, the decoration centering in an allegorical picture, in which "Fame," or the "Future," holds flaming torches before Abraham Lincoln, who appeared as in apotheosis. This was loaned for the occasion by Otto Walter Beck.

Exercises were opened by the singing of Elgar's arrangement of "America," after which came the prayer, by Dr. McCarty; a short address by Mr. Healy, and Mr. Mackaye's reading of his "Centennial Ode," composed for this commemoraton, which set forth the story of Abraham Lincoln's life in heroic lines. Then the Oratorio society gave a beautiful presentation of Sir Herbert Oakeley's setting of the hymn, "Evening and Morning," and after the address by Dr. Boynton, which immediately followed, sang with fine effect, Kipling's "Recessional," to the music by Reginald De Koven.

Dr. Boynton gave a masterly address, heard with close attention and frequently applauded. Dr. Boynton said, in part:

" 'Colonel,' said Richard Watson Gilder to the lamented John Hay, who was Mr. Lincoln's private secretary, and also the most thorough and careful student of his life, 'as you continue your study of Lincoln, and your writing about him, does he seem to you larger or less?' 'As I go on with my work,' came the winged reply, 'to me Lincoln grows greater and greater.' "

Here Dr. Boynton spoke of the admiration of all sections for Lincoln, and said, "North and South, East and West, to-day, forgetting sectionalism and difference of every kind, rise, chastened by common struggles and common griefs, inspired by common loyalty, to vie with each other in honoring the memory of one who awoke the bitterest antagonisms and roused the fiercest hatreds of any man who ever occupied in America the chair of state, but who is seen to-day to have been one of the world's rare, costly and most precious saviours.

"The mother of Abraham Lincoln is worthy the veneration of the American people. A daughter of the prairie, reared amid the blue grass of Kentucky, vexed with constant denials, mocked by poverty, she may have missed the graces of more favored womanhood, her disposition may have curdled, and her courage may have gradually leaked away. Perhaps it could not be claimed that she was specially elect among her sex. But hers is the enviable, unique and the imperishable glory of having been the mother of the first and greatest American citizen of the nineteenth century. While men are busy with well-deserved eulogies upon the illustrious son, let not women forget, or men either, the deference and the honor due the lowly but favored mother. Nor is it necessary in honoring the son to disparage the father. Doubtless, Thomas Lincoln failed of being what a New England Yankee calls a good calculator. Possibly he was a bit slack-twisted so far as his business methods were concerned, had the inclination of a rover and the carefree spirit of the lotus eaters; was not especially esteemed among his fellows for a conspicuous devotion to work—an infirmity which, by the way, not even psychotherapy has completely banished from our present-day American life—nevertheless Thomas Lincoln had a character for sound morality and honor and righteousness which he handed over to his son, and, if not specially partial to exacting toil himself, yet managed to keep Abraham splendidly busy, bestowing upon him that fundamental quality of true genius, 'The ability to light one's own fire,' and that other stern imperative of being able 'to toil terribly.' "

After comparison of the life and education of the Western boy and that of princes, it was said, "The princes represent aristocracy at its best. Does the question persist, What can democracy do? The answer, unashamed and triumphant, leaps for utterance, 'It can make an Abraham Lincoln.' " When speaking of Lincoln's political life, Dr. Boynton dwelt on his humor, saying, "It may be presumptuous to affirm that any single quality is an essential of a strong man's equipment. All are needed, are members one of another, and bring their specific contributions to the sum total. And yet one may venture the opinion that if the heavy load Lincoln tugged had not been graciously placed upon the springs of humor and of wit, he would have stumbled and fallen ere half his work was done. 'That laugh,' said Mr. Arnold, 'has been the President's life preserver.' "

At another point in his sympathetic recounting of Lincoln's life, Dr. Boynton said that "Experience, his private tutor, early taught him the imperatives of delay and of willingness to wait for fruitions, which, however desirable they might be in themselves, could only realize their deep intents by delaying until the strength of the people's will, and the might of the people's determination, were strong enough to carry them into effective execution. 'The trouble is,' exclaimed an impassioned labor leader, 'God isn't in a hurry, and I am.' Lincoln learned early the lesson that waiting was an essential prerogative of fine and of lasting accomplishment. It was qualities such as these which brought Mr. Lincoln to the attention of the public. Step by step he forced his steady way up and on. He was never a brilliant man. It was not the sparkle, it was the strength, of his character that distinguished him. His law partner once remarked of him that the whole man, body and mind, worked slowly, creaking as if it needed oiling. True; but when the whole man, working slowly, arrived, the strength of his determination had behind it the collective quality of the whole man in his mind, in his affection and in his will. A swiftly moving man might easily have wrecked our republic. Lincoln, moving slowly and steadfastly, saved it."

After giving "O Captain! My Captain!" Dr. Boynton said, in closing: "The 30,000,000 of people in the nation when Lincoln died have grown to 80,000,000. The country still lives upon his ideals; still grows because of his sacrifices and still marches in his spirit to meet and master the modern problems which rise with threatening mien. In him we have found the sources of abiding and conquering character, and with him we dedicate ourselves 'to the great task remaining before us, that government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.' "

Civil War veterans who had met and talked with Abraham Lincoln were speakers, last night, at the observance of the centennial of his birth, in Plymouth Church. Many members of Grant Post attended the exercises. As it had been in the morning service, when Dr. Hillis delivered an eloquent address on the centennial of the martyred President, the pew in the gallery of the church where Mr. Lincoln listened to a sermon by Henry Ward Beecher, was decorated with flags and flowers.

Neither Dr. Hillis nor General Daniel E. Sickles, who was one of the heroes of Gettysburg, and is now a very old man, were able to attend the anniversary. The Rev. Dr. Richie, chaplain of Grant Post, read the Scripture lesson and read the prayer, and the choir sang "Tenting To-night on the Old Camp Ground." General Horatio C. King presided and amused the congregation the congregation by giving an interesting account of Lincoln's humor in spite of the heavy trials through which he had to pass.

General Newton M. Curtis was introduced as "the hero of Fort Fisher." He gave a number of personal incidents in the life of Lincoln, told of Lincoln's lowly birth and character and narrated his first meeting with the President. The general is a very tall man. President Lincoln compared height with him and found General Curtis to be nearly three inches taller, whereupon he remarked: "Ten feet less than a rod, thin as a shingle and straight as an arrow." The general spoke of Lincoln as a lawyer and a politician, not in the modern sense of that term, and told how Lincoln praised and promoted him because he would not accept promotion through politics.

General King had difficulty in introducing himself, but said he was the husband of Mrs. Horatio C. King. He described President Lincoln's ungainly appearance, beneath which was the true man. Lincoln knew that the army was not ready for the emancipation proclamation, and for that reason, in spite of many criticisms, he refused to declare it at the outset of the war, and thus make slavery the point of contention. But slavery was not the cause of the war. It was a struggle to keep the Union together. General King gave several instances of Lincoln's humor.

One of General King's stories was that President Lincoln heard a driver swearing fiercely at his mules, who had lain down when the coach had become "stuck in the mud." "My friend," Lincoln remarked "are you an Episcopalian. You swear just like Secretary Seward, and he is a church warden." Another time, in regard to a very slow horse he had ridden, Lincoln added: "Don't let him drive my hearse, because we won't reach the grave in time for the resurrection."

General King spoke of Lincoln's compassion and Christianity, and said his death was a great blow to the South as well as to the North.

CONGER

RIGHTEOUSNESS OF LINCOLN.

Dr. David James Burrell Tells of His Faith in God, in Prayer and in the Bible.

In a sermon on "The Righteousness of Lincoln," in the Marble Collegiate Church, Fifth avenue and Twenty-ninth street, Manhattan, last night, the pastor, the Rev. David James Burrell, D.D., LL.D., reviewed the debates of Douglas and Lincoln, one of which he heard as a lad at Freeport, Ill. He said the fame of Lincoln grew brighter with the passing years. Dr. Burrell declared he was true to himself, true to his country, true to his fellow men, and, best of all, was true to God, believed in Him, believed in prayer and in the Bible. Dr. Burrell closed as follows:

Nor is this all. He was a devout believer in Christ. It has been said that he was in sympathy with the Unitarians in their denial of the divinity of Christ. Let us see. He frequently referred to Christ as "the Saviour." In the darkest days of the war he wrote to a friend, "I have been reading, on my knees, the story of Gethsemane, where the Son of God prayed in vain that the cup of bitterness might pass from Him." But they say "Unitarians also speak of Jesus as 'the Saviour' and 'the Son of God.'" It was not Mr. Lincoln's habit, however, to juggle with language in that way. Read these words of his in a letter to the Hon. Newton Bateman, written in the campaign of 1860: "I know there is a God, and that He hates injustice and slavery. I see the storm coming and I know His hand is in it. If He has a place and work for me—and I think He has—I believe I am ready. I am nothing, but truth is everything. I know I am right, because I know that liberty is right; for Christ teaches it; and Christ is God. I have told them that a house divided against itself cannot stand. And Christ and reason say the same thing; and they will find it so. My opponent doesn't care whether slavery is voted up or voted down; but God cares, and humanity cares, and I care. And with God's help I shall not fail! I may not see the end, but it will come, and I shall be vindicated. And these men will find that they have not read their Bibles aright."

The man who was familiarly known as "honest Abe," was surely too honest to utter language as one utters false coin. When He spoke of Christ as "the Saviour" and as "the Son of God," he meant it. And how could a denier of the deity of Jesus make this statement: "I know that liberty is right, for Christ teaches it, and Christ is God?"

No man is perfect. President Lincoln was a man subject to like passions as other men. But, taking into consideration his own confession of faith, he was surely less than honest if he did not believe in every one of the cardinal truths of Christianity.

The two great figures in our American history are Washington and Lincoln, and each of these paid eloquent tribute, in faith and practice, to the Bible and the Son of God. One of these lingers in our memory as he knelt at Valley Forge, in the very midnight of the Revolution, pleading for the triumph of our cause; and the other as he knelt, with his Cabinet, at the triumphant close of our Civil War, humbly, silently thanking God.

Ours is a Christian country. Let us praise God for the two mighties who have done so much to make and keep it so.

[illegible] WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

INSTITUTE HONORS MEMORY OF LINCOLN

DR. NEHEMIAH BOYNTON CALLS EMANCIPATOR AN INBORN GENTLEMAN.

Opera House of Academy of Music Crowded to Capacity to Hear Eloquent Oration and Musical Programme—Great President Lauded as Savior of Republic.

"We haven't forgotten Lincoln, have we?" That meeting took me back to days just after the war," said a veteran at the close of the Brooklyn Institute's meeting in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, held at the opera house of the Academy of Music, yesterday afternoon. It was eminently successful and there was much enthusiasm. The audience occupied every seat and stood in the open spaces, while the boxes, held for the families of the members of the Institute's board fo trustees and council, also took in many others. It was noticeable that a great many wore some sort of a Lincoln medal. Robert A. Gaylor, organist of Christ Church, Clinton street, arrived early and played for a while on the new organ, so that people had a chance to hear it as a solo instrument.

A. Augustus Healy, president of the board of trustees of the Brooklyn Institute, presided, while members of that board and of the council had seats at the front of the stage. Near Mr. Healy were placed the speakers—the Rt. Rev. Mgr. Edward W. McCarty, LL. D., rector of St. Augustine's Roman Catholic Church, who offered the opening prayer; Percy Mackaye, of Cornish, N. H., who gave the Centennial Ode, and the Rev. Nehemiah Boynton, D. D., pastor of the Clinton Avenue Congregational Church, who delivered the address. Back of these were the men and women of the Brooklyn Oratorio Society, Walter Henry Hall, conductor, and above them were draped huge American flags, the decoration centering in an allegorical picture, in which Fame, or the Future, holds flaming torches before Abraham Lincoln, who appeared as in apotheosis. This was loaned for the occasion by Otto Walter Beck.

Exercises were opened by the singing of Elgar's arrangement of "America," after which came the prayer, by Dr. McCarty; a short address by Mr. Healy, and Mr. Mackaye's reading of his "Centennial Ode," composed for this commemoration, which set forth the story of Abraham Lincoln's life in heroic lines. Then the Oratorio Society gave a beautiful presentation of Sir Herbert Oakley's setting of the hymn "Evening and Morning," and after the address by Dr. Boynton, which immediately followed, sang with fine effect, Kipling's "Recessional," to the music by Reginald De Koven.

Dr. Boynton gave a masterly address, heard with close attention and frequently applauded. Quick response was made when he compared Lincoln, by inference, as "the inborn gentleman" who may be "at least a match for a gentleman by heredity, and that with no apologies,

'That's the old American idee
To make a man and let him be.' "

Dr. Boynton continued, in part:

Boynton, Dr. Nehemiah

"James Russell Lowell, when defending our crude, immature and half-finished civilization in comparison with older civilizations, which out of their centuries of lengthening life had developed those envied refinements, the elevated, the beautiful and the interesting, punctured the complacent and patronizing spirit of apparently unapproachable superiority with the keen thrust of a sharp double-edged interrogation, 'Is it not the highest act of a republic to make a man of flesh and blood, and not the marble ideals of such?'

"It is one of the destructive tasks of history to blue pencil the luxurious and prodigal adjectives with which a glowing enthusiasm and a generous vocabulary have decorated the men of the moment. There is no appeal from Time. Her calm decisions are over and over again surprising reversals of ordinary judgments. 'Colonel,' said Richard Watson Gilder to the lamented John Hay, who was Mr. Lincoln's private secretary, and also the most thorough and careful student of his life, 'as you continue your study of Lincoln, and your writings about him, does he seem to you larger or less?' 'As I go on with my work,' came the winged reply, 'to me Lincoln grows greater and greater.' "

Here Mr. Boynton spoke of the admiration of all sections for Lincoln, and said, "North and South, East and West, forgetting sectionalism, rise to vie with each other in honoring his memory."

After comparison of the life and education of the Western boy and that of princes, it was said, "The princes represent aristocracy at its best. Does the question persist, what can Democracy do? The answer unshamed and triumphant leaps for utterance, 'It can make an Abraham Lincoln.' "

At another point in his sympathetic recounting of Lincoln's life, Dr. Boynton said that, "Experience, his private tutor, early taught him the imperatives of delay and of willingness to wait for fruitions. A swiftly moving man," he said, "might easily have wrecked our republic. Lincoln, moving slowly and steadfastly, saved it."

"His determination, when once he had arrived at its conclusions," declared the speaker, "was as firm and unmovable as the everlasting hills. When as a military necessity, he presented to his cabinet the draft of his Emancipation Proclamation, he remarked that he had resolved upon this step, and had not called them together to ask their advice, but to lay the subject matter of a proclamation before them, he not only inaugurated what he himself declared to be the central act of his administration and the great event of the nineteenth century, but evinced in his most conspicuous fashion that spirit of determined will which was surely one of the great undergirders of his character."

After giving, "O Captain! My Captain!" Dr. Boynton said in closing, "The thirty millions of people in the nation when Lincoln died have grown to eighty millions. The country still lives upon his ideals. Still grows because of his sacrifices and still marches to his spirit to meet and master the modern problems which rise with threatening mien. In him we have found the sources of abiding and conquering character, and with him we dedicate ourselves, 'To the great task remaining before us, that government of the people by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.' "

CONGER

Eagle 7/8/04

Bradley, Preston

Preston Bradley Praises Lincoln.

Abraham Lincoln, if placed in a 1936 setting, would find a close similarity to conditions as they were when he was President, Dr. Preston Bradley, pastor of People's Church, told the Congregational Ministers' meeting at Central Y. M. C. A. yesterday.

"Looking back," he said, "we have the impression that Lincoln was a popular man.

"We need only to read the cartoons and editorials in the New York Tribune of the day to find that no man was ever so deeply despised.

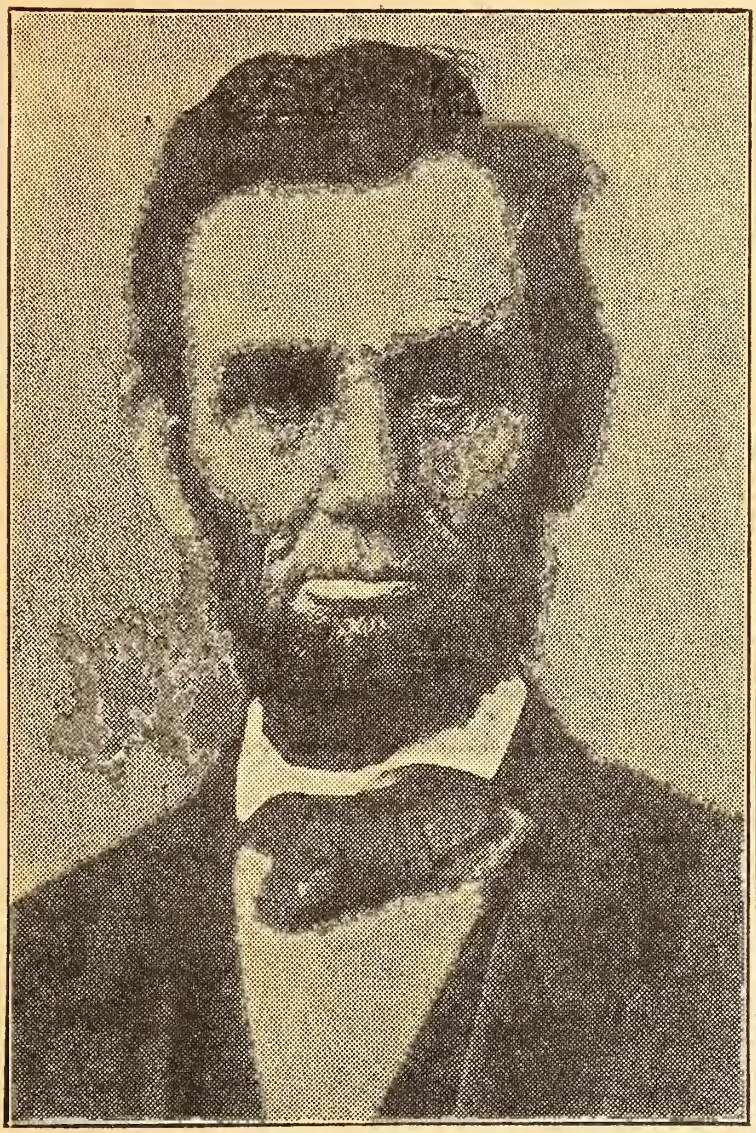
"It is not generally known that he won the presidency for the second term by only a 55 per cent vote." Chi. Herald & Examiner

Braskamp, Otto A.

SIOUX CITY JOURNAL: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1937.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

BORN FEBRUARY 12, 1809



By Rev. Otto A. Braskamp
Minister Knox Presbyterian Church

IN those dark days when our nation faced disaster and dismemberment it was Lincoln, endowed with a prophetic vision and worthy purpose, who led his nation through a wilderness of conflicting opinions and varied emotions into a union that today stands in the van of world civilization and progress. Abraham Lincoln was born to preserve the union. Well may the south claim him! In his own character is combined the deep moral sentiment of the north with the generous and chivalric spirit of the south.

Lincoln was the first—we ought to say the only American to rise above state or section and to labor with rare insight and singular devotion for the preservation of the union. In the famous Springfield speech of 1858 we find Lincoln declaring for an American union in the statement:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other."

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IN the darkest days of the civil war, when even his old friend, Horace Greeley, broke with Lincoln because of his so called vacillating policy, Lincoln said, "If I could save the union without freeing any slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it." Again to his fellow countrymen of the south he said that he had registered a vow in heaven to preserve the union; and to the union he gave the supreme effort of his life.

America does well to remember Abraham Lincoln. It was given to him to save the union. We should ever be mindful of both facts.

o o o

WELL may he be called "the Great American," but the first word spoken after Lincoln's death is truest and best—the word of Secretary of War Stanton, standing by the side of that scene of peace, "Now he belongs to the ages." It was a verdict and prophecy alike, for Lincoln is not America's, he is the world's; he belongs not to our age, but to all ages. And yet, though he belongs to all time and to all people, he is our own, for he was an American.

Breese, Judge Sidney

JUDGE BREESE' GREAT TRIBUTE

TO THE MEMORY OF THE IMMORTAL ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Address Was Delivered at Ottawa on May 3, 1865, at Time Resolutions Were Presented to Supreme Court—A Literary Gem.

One of the greatest tributes ever paid to the Immortal Abraham Lincoln was the address delivered by Judge Sidney Breese on May 3, 1865, in the supreme court room at Ottawa, Ill., at the time resolutions of the war were presented by former Chief Justice John D. Caton. Judge Breese at that time responded on behalf of the supreme court. The tribute from Judge Breese was a tribute from a man who knew Lincoln intimately for twenty-five years. He was judge of the circuit court and of the supreme court at the time Mr. Lincoln was practicing. Mr. Breese was a senator in congress while Lincoln was a member of the house of representatives. Although Judge Breese was a democrat and Mr. Lincoln a republican, yet the judge and Mr. Trumbell, both opposed Douglas and Calhoun in the debates of 1853, on the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

The manuscript of this speech is on the Gunther collection in Chicago. The tribute is reported in full in the thirty-seventh Illinois report. Sidney Breese of this city is a grandson of Judge Breese, who was one of Illinois' most gifted sons.

Judge Breese's Address.

The address of Judge Breese on the above occasion was a sfollows:

"In responding to the resolutions just presented by the late distinguished chief justice of this court, I am instructed to say they meet our most cordial concurrence. They will be entered on the records of the court, there to remain as a tribute, slight it may be, yet sincere, in honor and to the memory of one who not only adorned this bar, but rose from it, without any intermediate step, directly to the highest office in the gift of a great and free people.

"He whose loss we all so sincerely deplore, for whom, throughout this broad land, solemn pageants are in mournful progress, from whom court rooms, halls and public edifices are draped in funeral emblems, testifying to a nation's grief, was, but a few short years ago, an unassuming, yet distinguished citizen of this state, in full practice at the bar of this court, struggling earnestly with his competitors in an arena whose honors and whose triumphs he so often won.

"In common with you, gentlemen, we deeply deplore the loss of Mr. Lincoln. We have always regarded the illustrious deceased as a man of the highest order of intellect—in sheer natural endowments, with few superiors—as one with blemishes as few and as slight as attach to the most perfect humanity, and as a statesman of no common order.

A Man of Sympathy.

"But it becomes us, on this mournful occasion, to speak of him only as a man and as a lawyer—as a member of an honorable profession, from whose ranks have been taken, in times of greatest emergency, men whose high destiny it has been, not only to guide the car of victory, but to sustain the weight of empire.

"As a man, then, and as a lawyer, Mr. Lincoln challenged admiration not more for his exalted talents than for his noble, unselfish, sympathizing nature, giving to all his other estimable qualities their greatest charm.

"Mr. Lincoln possessed not only great common sense—a thorough knowledge of men, for which he was indebted, perhaps, to his early training, and to the vicissitudes of his career; but a generous sympathy in the sorrows, troubles, and difficulties that enter into the great battle of life. In this battle he mingled fearlessly, partaking of his violent struggles, its cruel disappointments, its humbling reverses.

"Not deeply read in his profession, Mr. Lincoln was never found deficient in all the knowledge requisite to present the strong points of his case to the best advantage, and by his searching analysis make clear the most intricate controversy.

"He wass, beside an honest lawyer, practicing none of the chicanery of the profession to which he was devoted, nor any of those mean and little and shuffling and dishonorable arts all do not avoid; nor did he seek an advantage over his adversary to which he was not fairly entitled, by the merits of his cause, and by the force of his arguments.

"With an exterior by no means polished, with nothing in the outward man to captivate, there was that within him, glowing in his mind, which enabled him to impress by the force of his logic, his own clear preceptions upon the minds of those he sought to influence. He was therefore, a successful lawyer, but bore with humility the distinctions he had won.

"For my single self, I have, for a quarter of a century, regarded Mr. Lincoln as the fairest lawyer I ever knew, and of a professional bearing so high-toned and honorable, as justly, and without derogating from the claims of others, entitling him to be presented to the profession as the model well worthy of the closest imitation.

"His enthusiasm, his simplicity, humor, and that freshness of mind, which his unpretending life and habits gave him, won the esteem of all, and these qualities were not dimmed on attaining the distinguished position to which his admiring countrymen advanced him. In that, as in the more humble walks of life, and homely social intercourse, his energy, his respect, his kindly humor, were seen and felt; and though a melancholy tinge seemed to pervade his countenance when in repose, no sooner was it lighted up by that sunny smile ever ready to play upon it, than the whole man was changed, and one more genial, frank and entertaining was rarely to be found.

Above All Was Honest.

"Nor did he, in these exhibitions of the native goodness of his disposition, lesson the dignity of his high office; they but served to shed a soft beauty around it, showing that his heart was in kindliest sympathy with the world without, and gave to his allegories and his anecdotes in which he delighted to indulge, a point and pungancy quite as effective in illustrating a proposition as the most powerful argument.

"In his public life, Mr. Lincoln seemed to have been inspired by high principle, manifesting at all times an abiding sense of solemn responsibility, and exerting all his influence for good, as it appeared to him from his standpoint, to be best attained.

"Though many of us differed with him in his views of public policy, all admitted the honesty of his intentions, and cherished an abiding faith in his patriotism, and in his sincere desire to lift the country out of the troubles into which wicked men had involved it.

"From the day of his first inauguration, Mr. Lincoln never despaired of the final success of the great cause in which he had embarked and his determination that he would, as the head of the government, 'hold, possess and occupy,' the fortifications and other property, of which the Union had been despoiled, was on the point of accomplishment, when he was suddenly stricken down. In his inaugural, he prophesied, all our people would be again united, and harmony once more prevail; for thus he spoke:

"'The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle field and patriot grave, to every heart and hearth-stone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when touched again, as they surely will be, by the better angels of our nature.'

"What a beautiful thought, and how beautifully expressed.

"Why could he not have lived to witness this his bright anticipation?

"Why was he thus stricken down, that he should not enjoy the realization of this, his cherished hope?

"Why was he not reserved to join in that chorus, so soon, we trust, to swell from the mystic chords the better angels of our nature have surely touched, attuing them to union, harmony and love?

Love of Fellow Man.

"And the more especially as the

BRICKER, GOV. JOHN
(REECE, HON. B. CARROLL)

and mills, the peoples of the earth will have to be given the opportunity to obtain such power. So a bottle of milk for every hottentot and a Tennessee Valley Authority in the Danube Valley may be something more than a starry-eyed adventure in humanity. It may be a rich economic investment that will bring prosperous returns to those who can see its implications in the changing universe. And those who will not see should be reminded of the dangers inherent in our modern communications. The world peoples have been drawn ridiculously close together by the airplane and the radio. It is no longer possible to speak of China or India as places too remote for our consideration. We shall either understand them as friends or face the possibility of meeting their hostility in days to come. We now have the time to choose the manner in which we shall live with them in this little world shrunken to such small dimensions.

NEED TO UNDERSTAND POLITICS

A second factor in the challenge of tomorrow is the political structure of society. Here in our own country we are still terribly immature in our understanding of politics. The average man thinks that "politics" means the Kelly-Nash machine or some other tightly knit oligarchy controlling the ballot for its own selfish ends. He has become accustomed to hearing the term associated with such notions as graft, self-interest, and the like. There is not much hope of building the kind of government that shall truly meet the ideals of our noble constitutions unless we change our attitude toward this much-abused word. Aristotle called man a political animal and thereby gave us the clue to the great possibilities for social organization that is suggested in the term. Man, he said, has the capacity to impose his own order upon nature. He can direct his animal herd instincts until they become manifest in the form of what the Greeks called the "polis," or city. In this organization, planned and directed, man functions by laws. A law is no more than an agreement on the part of the individual to give up certain selfish instincts for the common good. The numbers of men who can live thus determine the kind of civilization in any given age. At the present time there is no law in Axis-controlled countries. There is only the whim of members of a party or oligarchy.

MUST IMPROVE KNOWLEDGE

Therefore there is nothing but primitivism and animal savagery manifest in those lands. When free people do not exercise their right of the ballot, when they are indifferent to their communal responsibilities, when they lack civic spirit, when they see romance in law, they degrade the term "politics" to the shoddy concept that is prevalent among so many people today. And because they understand so little of the possibilities of their own community growing by law they find it extremely difficult to imagine a league of nations controlled by international law. Yet they will have to improve their knowledge of politics if they expect to realize their hopes of international peace tomorrow.

The various suggestions and plans now offered for the society of nations should be given serious attention by every citizen of our country. If we expect to trade with nations, we shall have to have better association with nations. We shall have to deliberate with them about common laws that can be accepted and respected by people the world over. We can no longer afford the luxury of splendid isolation. Twenty-five years ago we turned our backs upon the world. One hundred thousand of our youth had died in a war "to make the world safe for democracy." Billions had been expended in defeating the legions of the Kaiser. We decided to divorce ourselves from the nations. And we found to our dismay that in a shrunken universe we cannot live apart. This war is a clear answer to our attitude of yesterday.

RELIGION VITAL FACTOR

A third factor dealing with the world of the future is religion. This is not limited to any particular church or denomination. It is not described in any particular Bible or creedal document. It is rather to be found deep in the heart of mankind. It is the ultimate capacity to see others as we see ourselves, hoping, aspiring, and meeting with disappointment. It is the recognition of the spirit in man that can make the whole world kin. As politics is concerned with the external organization of society, so religion is concerned with the internal organization of mankind—the soul of humanity, as it were. There is so much that men share that it will behoove us to look for the common properties of the world peoples. This does not mean giving up our cherished beliefs. It does mean that we must see different peoples as we see the composition of a symphony orchestra. The various instruments contribute to a great harmony. So, too, can the various beliefs and attitudes be harmonized to constitute the symphony of the spheres.

It is the tragedy of our time that, possessing so many channels of information and education, we yet hug our prejudices and our bigotries so closely. We are suspicious of those not of our faith, our church, our creed. We find it difficult to believe that the word "communion" has greater implications, when viewed with godly spirit, than the narrow interpretations we place upon it. There is a story told of two Negroes who were in conversation about their religion. One wished to persuade the other to join "the army of the Lord." The other insisted he was a member of this army. Asked what denomination he espoused, he replied "the Baptist group." His friend answered, "You are not in the army, you are in the navy."

NO PLACE FOR SMUGNESS

The world tomorrow will not permit us to live comfortably within the smugness of our particular beliefs. It will not permit us to harbor prejudice against Jew or Protestant or Catholic or Hindu or Mohammedan. It will demand of us that we meet God's greater law, the recognition that true fatherhood of God demands brotherhood of man. Once we can rid ourselves of our narrow prejudices and our blind intolerance of the consciences of others, we shall be better able to direct our thoughts to the economic and political means of achieving that society envisaged by the prophet of old, where we shall walk in the ways of God, where each man in our universe shall dwell safely under his own vine and fig tree and there shall be none to make him afraid.

Governor Bricker's Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. B. CARROLL REECE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1943

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the speech of Gov. John W. Bricker, of Ohio, at the annual State Lincoln Day dinner, under the auspices of the State Republican Executive Committee, in Nashville, Tenn., on Friday, February 12, 1943:

We assemble today to honor the life of a great American. We do this in no partisan sense. In our reverence for Lincoln, his life and character, we are joined by the millions who have accepted him as their true exemplar. To the downtrodden of the world, yes, to all who love liberty, he personifies the virtues of this Republic and its opportunities, unlimited by class or creed.

Born in lowly estate and living his early life in utter poverty, he rose to the most exalted place in the history of our country. His rise was not by conquest, by trampling over the oppressed, or by taking the lives or even property of other people. He rose not with conqueror's strides, but step by step in public service under the law, always devoted to the system to which he was born and ever striving to maintain it. He felt his paramount duty was to save our constitutional system and all the blessings it had brought to our people. He did not seek by revolution to destroy that which had gone before. He came at the time of a great crisis, and out of the dangers of that crisis he built more firmly the foundations of a republic.

The wisdom of his leadership lives today in a united Nation which possesses an opportunity to do good, as is given to no other people on earth. Our Nation today faces another crisis. Tonight we gather together in confidence that the Republic can wage war without destroying itself—that it can face danger and at the same time strengthen our democratic institutions—that it can prevent abuses without destroying the system of free government.

During the recent years we have seen a wave of absolutism sweep over many nations of the world. It has had its reactions here. There are actually persons in America today, a small but very vocal minority, who believe that we cannot govern ourselves. They believe that we must have superimposed upon us a benevolent autocracy. They forget that such a system soon ceases to be benevolent. This group is represented by the order-writing, regulation-preparing younger intellectuals who have generated within themselves a sense of superego, and who believe that they are chosen to lead mankind to the promised land. They know little of the actual conditions of life. They have never lived very fully. They know little of the loyalty or the aspirations of our people. As a result we are living today in the midst of a confusing exercise of power.

A lot of these bureaucrats who have read much and lived little are especially contemptuous of elected representatives of the people. They are against the established order. They are determined to break down State lines and local government. We even find some in high places who are unpatriotic enough to use the war as a means of imposing their peculiar philosophy of un-American government upon our people. They claim patriotism as the motive. But they are not patriots who would destroy that for which our boys now are fighting and dying at the far outposts of the earth.

We have seen many evidences of this increased trend to centralize power in the last few years. Two desperate attempts were made to take away from the States the control of unemployment compensation. It is in most States wisely and efficiently administered.

The States of the Union were called upon in the early days of this war to set up the machinery for local rationing. An excellent job was done under the leadership of Frank Bane, now executive secretary of the Council of State Governments. The authority was placed in the hands of people, close home—in the local communities. It was then taken over by the National Government with highly paid executives. The offices were taken away from the local communities. People were forced to go great distances and often met boards that knew very little of local condi-

Bricker, Gov. John W.

the sea of foreign policy clutching the driftwood of the Mackinac declaration?

If so, Governor Bricker is their man. No doubt remains that the ideal leader of a horse-and-buggy Republican Party is Honest John.

Lincoln Day Address of Gov. John W. Bricker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFF CLEVENGER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 15, 1944

Mr. CLEVENGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following text of a speech by Gov. John W. Bricker, of Ohio, at the annual Lincoln Day dinner of the Republican Members of Congress:

We meet tonight in memory of the immortal Lincoln, founder of the Republican Party. He personified the great common man. He glorified American opportunity. His spirit still lives and we take inspiration from his life and service. He had a deep and abiding faith in his fellowman. He believed that our constitutional principles were adequate in times of great crisis. He proved that representative government could wage war and emerge free. Lincoln defined the function of government in these terms: "To lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the face of life."

CLEAVAGE EXISTS

Today, a cleavage exists in our country which is fraught with more serious consequences to our national future than at any time since Lincoln's day. The cleavage cuts across our political, economic, and social life. The question confronting every citizen and every legislative leader may be simply stated. Shall government direct the lives of our people, or shall it create conditions which will enable them, individually and hopefully, to find their own way? Shall we continue our march toward absolutism, or shall we preserve the free atmosphere which our people have breathed since our country was founded?

In Lincoln's day the question was, Shall America remain a nation. In our day the question is, Shall the Nation remain American.

From the days of the ill-starred N. R. A., our people have been bewildered and oppressed by the edicts and decrees of a power-seeking government, determined to become their master. The Republican Party in the coming campaign will take its stand on a platform, "To afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life."

The Republican Party is the liberal party in America. The New Deal is reactionary. It reaches back for centuries to Old World devices for extending its power and depriving people of their rights. The New Deal is the American counterpart of the sweep of absolutism which has destroyed so much liberty around the world. It lacks faith in our people. It assumes that people cannot take care of themselves, but must be taken care of by a paternalistic government. So it has built up a dominating bureaucracy, and used it for selfish political purposes. Bureaucracies begin in benevolence and end in despotism.

SERVILE MAJORITY

The New Deal philosophy has extended into every branch of government. It assumed in the very beginning that the executive branch of the Government is paramount. The Congress was relegated to an inferior position. Legislation was drafted by representatives of the Executive. A congress dominated by a servile New Deal majority submitted. Often the power of patronage was used. Every conceivable political device was employed to build the power of the Executive.

Congress surrendered the purse strings to the Executive through lump-sum appropriations. As a result Congressmen were placed at the mercy of the Executive. Then came the attack upon the Supreme Court. An attempt was made to relegate it to a position of subservience to the Executive. The program included an unceasing suppression of State and local governments. You will recall that in the early days of the New Deal legislation was sent to the governors of our State with a "must" attached to it. It came directly from the executive branch of the Federal Government.

I live with the people who feel the impact of this expanding system of government in their daily lives, and I know their reactions to it. I believe that the safest program for our country lies not in fitful movements of reform and reaction but to steady progress through adherence to our representative system of government.

The time has now come to take the policy-making power of government out of the hands of the arrogant bureaucrats and return it to the hands of the elected representatives of the people.

The material accomplishments of our people under self-government are unmatched. With only one-sixteenth of the world's population, we have produced more automobiles than all the rest of the world, one-third of all the radio sets, one-half the telephones, and one-third of the railroad mileage of the world. This was not due to our great natural resources alone, because other countries have had them. In our free political atmosphere we have made better use of our resources and more people have enjoyed a higher standard of living than in any other country of the world.

STRIKE MENACE

Our war accomplishments prove the soundness of our traditional system. In spite of the manifold discouragements of our industry at the hands of the New Deal during pre-war years, it magnificently has met the challenge of war. This achievement of management and workers constitutes one of the brightest pages of our history.

This has been accomplished in spite of the weakness of the New Deal in handling labor relations. It could never have been accomplished except for the loyal support of labor in this country. But I want to say to you as members of my party in Congress that, in time of war when men and women are dying to preserve free government, including the right of labor itself to organize, no group or no union should be permitted to strike. I do not care whether that strike is against management or government, the consequences are the same. Some life is endangered by every idle hour. Every strike delays victory.

But this is not all. Labor is irreparably injured in the eyes of the public and these strikes will cause our soldiers to return from the battle fronts with a distorted opinion of the loyalty of labor in this country. I do not care whether the strike is induced by selfish labor leaders or unthinking members of the union, the result is the same. This is a problem of Government. If we can wage a war on every battle front of the world, we can certainly keep the wheels of industry turning. A law should be enacted by this Congress laying down fundamental principles for the administration and adjudication of labor disputes and the prohibition of strikes in the time of war. The recently suggested Na-

ther cost of Government, must be paid primarily by those who create the income of the Nation.

As long as the Government does not allow its debt to go beyond where it can be serviced without entrenching upon our system of private enterprise our economy is not in danger. But with such a debt we realize immediately that the interest alone becomes a serious burden upon production.

In the post-war period the annual operating expense of the Federal Government has been estimated at about $15,000,000,000. Taxes can rise so high that they will ultimately become unbearable, paralyzing production by taking so much of the profit that no incentive remains to take a chance.

If we pursue deficit financing in the post-war period we shall inevitably reach the point where, barring wholesale inflation, private enterprise will be unable to keep labor fully employed, making it necessary for the Government to borrow more and more in the attempt to relieve unemployment. But in that event those from whom the Government must borrow will either be out of business or already taxed to such an extent that they will have no money to lend. Government credit will then be impaired. This happened in modern Italy and also in modern Germany. These Loreleized songs are invitations to ultimate national bankruptcy. This will mean an end to representative government and free enterprise in America.

ULTIMATE DEFAULT

This necessarily follows because of the post-war era constantly mounting Federal taxes increase the equity of the Government in our income which is our wealth. This means the steady transfer of ownership of our wealth, which includes our industries, from private persons to the Government. We would have lent our wealth to the Government on the "owe it to ourselves" theory until, with any marked decline in our national income, we would owe so much to ourselves that we would be unable to pay ourselves the interest, much less anything on the principal. This means ultimate default. The wealth of the Nation would be held by the Government or in other words owned in common. This is socialism, if not communism.

Make no mistake about it, the most effective way to overthrow our republican form of Government is to continue to follow the New Deal fiscal policies in the post-war period.

The post-war financial problems can be solved and our American way of life can be protected. But they cannot be solved until we have an administration in Washington which throws out the bureaucrats, theorists, spenders and borrowers, and adopts and adheres to policies of economy, common sense, and sound business methods. A balanced Federal budget at the earliest possible time after the war is won will create more jobs than all the projects Government can devise.

Nothing would encourage the American people more, nothing would enhance the war effort to a greater degree than to send back into productive industry or to the Army or Navy the hundreds of thousands of unnecessary Federal employees.

END CONFUSION

The first essential looking to sound fiscal policy is a responsible cabinet Government in Washington. This means the elimination of many boards, bureaus, and commissions, and holding the department heads responsible. If a Cabinet member is unable to handle his problems, get one who can instead of substituting a bureau. The overlapping of boards, bureaus, and commissions, the superimposing of czars upon departments, the cross-checking of one authority upon another, result in costly confusion, endless bickering and public distrust.

A third result of continuing New Deal fiscal policies would be the adverse effect on

: participation of post-war international airs.

Time and again I have said that the United States should take her place in a cooperative organization among sovereign nations after this war. We want no supergovernment, no central world authority over us. An international cooperative organization whatever precise form it may take can solve the problems which lead to war and fulfill the hopes of our people for a peaceful and better world.

But if the New Deal fiscal policies are continued our participation in international reconstruction and cooperation is doomed to failure. A nation which builds its own financial house upon the shifting sands will be too weak to help build an international house upon a solid rock.

TAX POLICY

In summary I believe that a sound constructive post-war tax policy must be based upon the following principles:

1. Simplification of tax laws and regulations including reports and returns. It is time to end a system of taxation in which five governmental tax experts can compute an income-tax return with identical figures and get five different answers. This happened in Cleveland last week.

2. Stability in tax laws and regulations to enable business to map out constructive future programs without constant fear of changes and new theories being adopted.

3. Adherence to the principle that the taxing power exists primarily for the purpose of raising necessary revenue and does not exist to be used as an undercover method of effecting social changes.

4. Adoption of tax measures which will leave adequate sources of revenue available to States and local governments to enable them to maintain their financial independence.

5. Strict adherence to fiscal and tax policies which will stimulate and encourage venture capital and private enterprise to provide jobs in private employment.

6. A reduction in Federal taxes as soon as possible after victory. I offer to you no Utopian picture of ease with abundant money for all raised by borrowing from ourselves. The task confronting us is a difficult one but courage, hard work, and a great faith will carry us through.

At the darkest hour of the civil war a group of men called upon Abraham Lincoln. They suggested that the cause of the Union was lost and that he should give up. He answered them in these words:

"When I was a young man in Illinois I boarded for a time with a deacon of the Presbyterian Church. One night I was aroused from my sleep by a rap at my door and I heard the deacon's voice exclaiming, 'Arise, Abraham, the day of judgment has come!' I sprang out of my bed and rushed to the window, and there I saw the stars falling in a shower. But I looked beyond these falling stars and far back in the heavens I saw, fixed and immovable, the grand old constellations with which I was so well acquainted. No, gentlemen, the world did not come to an end then, nor will the Union now."

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tional Service Act is no answer to this problem at this late date. The strike problem can be solved by fair legislation and by just enforcement of the law.

The boys at the battle front are demanding such action. The fathers and mothers of those boys are demanding it, and that demand will be expressed in the election this year. Such action, instead of destroying rights of labor, will preserve them. The time has come to support the millions of workers who want to work and to quit coddling selfish labor leaders for the sake of the votes which they say they can deliver in an election. If politics and votes had been forgotten by this administration, we never would have had the distressing confusion which has confronted us in this field.

MOVE RESENTED

The genius of our Government rests upon faith in the worth of the individual citizen and respect for the dignity of the human personality. Upon this faith we shall stand and wage the campaign ahead.

I am proud to be a member of the Republican Party. I deem it a high privilege to address my fellow Republicans in Congress. You have revitalized the Congress and given valiant aid to the war program.

Winning the war is not a partisan opportunity. It is an American responsibility. All of us resent the effort of any political leader to make "win the war" a political slogan. That became the watchword of every patriotic American on December 7, 1941, and will remain so until the day of victory.

It is a matter of deep satisfaction to all of us that the people of this Nation saw fit to reward our party in recent congressional elections for its demonstrated alertness and high sense of responsibility. The Republican Party has never been willing, when entrusted with power, to sell the day in order to serve the hour. In serving one generation, it has also given thought to coming generations. Our party is justly proud of its past and it is exceedingly sure of its future because of its consistent purpose.

I come to you tonight confident of victory for the Republican Party and say to you with the deepest of sincerity that I am more interested in winning the coming election for the Republican Party and in defeating the New Deal philosophy of government that I am in being President of the United States.

One of the many striking differences between the Republican Party and the New Deal is in leadership. There are many leaders in our party who would make excellent candidates for the Presidency and whom I would be proud to support and who, if elected, would do the job that must be done to save the priceless heritage of this Republic. The New Deal has only one candidate.

DUTY OF PARTY

It is the duty of the Republican Party to present to the American people the issues which endanger their traditional freedoms. There is danger in the size and in the power of the Federal establishment itself, with 3,500,000 civilian employees. In Ohio alone there are 5 Federal employees for every State employee. There is danger in bureaucratic restrictions so arbitrary, intricate, and difficult as to smother the spirit of initiative and enterprise of our citizens. There is danger in the ruthless and reckless aim to destroy our system of checks and balances. There is danger in the heedless grasp for power that led to the departure from the salutary limitation by tradition of a President's tenure. The aggregate effect of these dangers is staggering.

I am of the opinion that our paramount task at war's end is to restore order and sanity in our fiscal affairs and our system of taxation. Let us now consider some of the aspects of this problem.

The many fiscal experiments of the New Deal have created a confused program of spend, waste, borrow, and tax. Too often this program has been inspired by political opportunism. In time of war great expenditures are necessary. War means taxing until it hurts. It means lending every dollar possible to our Government. But in war it is our duty to insist that our Government be as single-minded toward the war effort and as frugal in the ordinary activities of government as it asks us to be.

The question with which we are confronted is whether these New Deal pre-war fiscal policies are to continue after victory.

DEBT BEFORE WAR

On June 30, 1939, 2 months before the Germans began their drive into Poland, the Federal debt stood at forty and a half billion dollars. This was almost exactly $18,000,000,000 more than the amount of the debt on June 30, 1933, some 4 months after the New Deal administration took office. Even more startling is the fact that the debt in 1939 was $14,000,000,000 greater than it was on August 31, 1919, which was then the all-time high and resulted from World War No. 1. We have been told in high-sounding phrases by New Deal fiscal magicians: "Think nothing of our national debt. Just borrow more. Public debt has no similarity to private debt because we owe it to ourselves." There might be some sense in such a statement if we all had equal incomes, equal bond holdings and paid equal taxes. The truth is that under our economy it makes no difference to the individual taxpayer whether the debt is held internally or externally.

The necessary increase in the public debt caused by war, plus reckless nonwar government spending, plus the cost of the tremendous New Deal political organization present a problem fraught with a great danger if the New Deal pre-war fiscal policies are continued in the post-war era. It is high time that every citizen knows where the New Deal fiscal policy of spend, waste, borrow and tax is continued will lead our country.

LOSS OF AUTONOMY

The first result will be the loss of autonomy of the State governments. This will occur when financial independence of State and local governments ends. The farther we follow the course of expanding our Federal expenditures and deficit financing, the less will be the resources available for State and local governments. There is a limit to the aggregate tax burden our economy can carry. This trend has led local governments to depend more and more upon State aid and Washington contributions.

In 1932 when the New Deal came into power, the Federal Government collected 22 percent of our total taxes. In 1939 the Federal portion had jumped to 38 percent. Even with the increased tax income, the Federal Government spent more than it collected and continued deficit financing. Much of this came about because the Federal Government entered more and more into functions that before had been locally administered.

Changes in economic and social conditions do require from time to time the reallocation of governmental functions. But some New Dealers have expressed the opinion that the Federal Government should use substantially the entire taxing power and dole out to the States and local governments what Washington wants them to have. This would make State and local governments a mere sham and pretense. When the States and local governments become financially dependent upon Washington the whole Federal structure will have been destroyed.

SECOND RESULT

The second result of continuing New Deal fiscal policies will be the loss of representative government and free enterprise. Since the submission of the 1945 budget it is estimated that by June 30, 1945, we shall have a national debt in excess of $250,000,000,000. This may well require a post-war interest charge of five to seven billion dollars. This, with the

Dr Warren..

LINCOLN LIFE
Referred to
REC'D APR 9 1940
Answered
OFFICE OF A. F. HALL

FAITH IN AMERICA

Address by

Hon. Styles Bridges

of New Hampshire

at

LINCOLN DAY DINNER

under auspices of the

Republicans of Eastern Indiana

in the Masonic Temple at Muncie, Ind.
Friday evening, February 9, 1940

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ADDRESS

BY

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Hon. STYLES BRIDGES, of New Hampshire, at Lincoln Day dinner under auspices of the Republicans of eastern Indiana, in the Masonic Tempre at Muncie, Ind., Friday evening, February 9, 1940:

We are approaching a day dear to the hearts of Americans because the man whose birth it marks symbolizes so much of the American ideal. If there was one outstanding characteristic of Lincoln, it was his love of humanity and his faith in mankind, without which the democratic ideal loses its justification. If there was one source of his strength and courage in those dark days when the Nation, torn by civil war, threatened to be rent asunder, it was his faith in the American people and in the great Nation that, united as one, they would build. Today, when the democratic faith has faltered and its ideals have crumbled all about us, when Americans themselves are disheartened and divided, more than at any time since the Civil War do we in these United States need a reaffirmation of that faith, and the courage and unity it brings.

Lincoln loved man because he believed in him, in his fundamental goodness and in his untold possibilities. He believed in freedom not only as the right of man but as essential to his dignity. But what has become of that faith in recent years? Today we are told that man has reached the peak of achievement through individual initiative, energy, talent, and hard work, and that henceforth progress must be measured not by what the individual can attain under the Government but what the Government does for the individual. We are told that many millions of our citizens will never again be able to find gainful employment and rise through their own abilities. Where is the faith of Americans in themselves and in their possibilities? What has become of the undaunted courage that led those who have gone before us on to new conquests? Today vast groups of our citizens regard one another with suspicion and distrust; yes, even as enemies. What has become of the mutual respect and tolerance which made America the most classless country in the world and the unity without which there can be no progress?

One of the reasons for this lack of faith has been that it was lacking in men in high public office, for the doctrines they have preached have tended to destroy it in others. That is a terrible indictment. But what else can be said when a President of the United States brands entire classes of our citizens as "Tories" and "copperheads" when he boasts that they met their "match" in his first administration and warns that they will meet their "master" during his second term of office?

Thus we have an administration which apparently regards businessmen as a group as criminals unless they can prove themselves innocent. Thus the rigid restrictions and consistent discrimination against them by the countless agencies of the Government.

Thus we heard the theory of a Presidential "mandate" under which the people in their blind faith were supposed to have surrendered to him the power to do as he wished.

Without this faith in the citizen, there can be no faith in our form of representative government as provided by our Constitution. Lincoln believed in democracy, as did the founders of our Government, because he believed that men were capable of self-government. He believed, as did they, in the system of checks and balances of our constitutional system as a healthy check to guard against the encroachment of government upon the lives of the people.

Lincoln once enumerated the various ways in which a Chief Executive might seek to influence legislation. But he declared himself against the "use of any of these means by the Executive to control the legislation of the country," adding that "Congress should originate as well as perfect its measures free from external bias."

Lincoln believed in "obedience and respect for the judicial department of government. Its decisions on constitutional questions, when fully settled, should control not only the particular case decided but the general policy of the country, subject to be disturbed only by amendments of the Constitution as provided in that instrument itself. More than this would be revolution."

Lincoln referred in his first inaugural address to "my rightful masters, the American people."

The present President of the United States is most eloquent in proclaiming his devotion to democracy. But when a Chief Executive seeks to bend the judiciary to his will by packing the Supreme Court and to ram "must" legislation down the throat of a subservient Congress, who demands for himself in the name of emergency vast powers which he is never willing to surrender, what has become of the faith in the balance of powers upon which our constitutional system rests? When attempts are made to "purge" representatives of the people; when it is argued that Congress cannot be trusted to exercise its constitutional control over our currency because it will surrender this power to Wall Street; when it is charged that the Senate of the United States must not be permitted to ratify treaties since it would turn this constitutional duty into a logrolling contest; when a President talks of the possibility of the United States being "bought" by the telegrams of their constituents, what confidence is shown in either the representatives or the people by whom they were elected? Actions such as these speak louder than volumes of protestations.

With so little faith in the American citizen, with so little faith in our constitutional processes of government, no administration could be expected to demonstrate any great confidence in a system of private economy. A free economy, like representative government, is based on faith in men to rise through their own abilities and to cooperate with others for the welfare and advancement of all. The purpose of government under such a system is to prevent the abuse of the freedom which it affords. Lincoln believed in a system of private economy as the only system which, by permitting private property, afforded men a reward for their labors and the opportunity to rise. American progress during the less than 2 centuries of our life as a nation has demonstrated its success far beyond the expectations or dreams of men.

One of the manifestations of the present lack of faith in the ability of men to continue to go forward under a free economy, to conquer the problems of the vast industrial civilization they have created, is the argument that the very progress which men have in labor-saving devices has put them out of work. The President himself voiced this theory in his annual message on the state of the Union to the Congress when he declared, "We have not yet found a way to employ the surplus of our labor which the efficiency

of our industrial processes have created." He added, "To face the task of finding jobs faster than invention can take them away is not defeatism."

It was the same belief that men by their creative genius throw themselves out of work that led a Member of Congress to introduce a joint resolution calling upon the Secretary of the Treasury to "investigate the desirability and practicability of taxing the use of labor-saving and labor-displacing machinery."

The theory is not new; indeed, it may be ancient. We know that in England, during the 1850's, irate British workers threw their wooden shoes into weaving machines which they believed had cost them their jobs. Yet within a few years this invention made possible not only the employment of a larger number of workers but actually the employment of agreater proportion of the growing population by the weaving industry than ever before.

The same story has been repeated in industry after industry. And still there are those who fail to see that labor-saving machinery, by lowering the cost of production, lowers the cost to the buyer, and that this, by resulting in greater consumption and thus greater demand, increases the number of men needed to produce and distribute these goods.

In the 50 years preceding 1930 our American population increased 218 percent, but the number of people gainfully employed rose 291 percent. In 1900 many people began to worry because of our rapid industrialization and mechanization. That year a little over 38 percent of our total population was gainfully employed. In 1930, 40.7 percent of our people were engaged in gainful employment. The United States census figures demonstrate that the number of those gainfully employed has steadily increased with the introduction of labor-saving machinery. During those 30 years our population increased 47,000,000, but 20,000,000 new jobs were created.

It might reasonably be supposed, for instance, that the introduction of electric refrigerators threw men out of work in the ice business. Yet 14 years ago there were some 200,000 electric refrigerators, selling at around $400 apiece. Today there are over 2,000,000 in use, selling at an average of $163. Today the new industry employs twice as many as the old, but—believe it or not—United States census figures show that, between 1920 and 1930, the number of ice dealers increased from 8,000 to over 19,000. And, moreover, the latest figures prove that more ice boxes are being manufactured today than before the electric refrigerator was introduced.

Another surprising example is the case of the dial telephone. In 1921, 2.7 percent of the phones of the Bell system were of the dial type. By 1930 this had risen to 30 percent. Yet the number of telephone calls doubled and the number of telephone operators increased from 190,000 to 249,000, according to the 1930 census. The number of telegraph and telephone linemen almost doubled. Bell Co. officials declare that the census this year will show that the number of employees has increased by the same ratio in the last 10 years.

I have gone into this matter at some length, not with any purpose of advocating labor-saving machinery but simply because the New Dealers from the outset have used it to frighten the American people, to give them a sense of utter futility about life.

Fellow Republicans, labor-saving devices are not the cause of our unemployment. The basic cause is political.

Yet today reforms have been aimed not at the revival of our system of private economy but at the gradual substitution of an economy planned and directed from Washington. Today the Government supports millions of the unemployed and does nothing to make possible their return to private industry. Today Government spending takes the place of private spending, while vast stores of idle capital are discouraged rather than aided in investment in productive enterprises which would reemploy those out of work and create a

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higher standard of living for all of our people. Today Government employment and Government credit—raised by oppressive taxation of the citizens of today and reckless borrowing from the citizens of tomorrow—are used in direct competition with the businesses and industries by which the vast majority of the American people live. As this competition has spread ever further, the Government has gained an ever-increasing control over banking, investment, and credit, either taking the place of private enterprise or forcing it out of business through competition in field after field.

This has not happened by accident, nor was it the inevitable consequence of Government aid to the needy in time of depression. Rather it was the deliberate plan of left-wing New Dealers from the beginning. Years ago Mr. Rexford G. Tugwell, one of the guiding spirits of the first "brain trust," declared:

"Business will logically be required to disappear. This is not an overstatement for the sake of emphasis; it is literally meant. * * * National planning implies guidance of capital uses. * * * New industries will not just happen as the automobile industry did; they will have to be foreseen, to be argued for, * * * or seem probably desirable features of the whole economy before they can be entered upon. * * * It would be comparatively easy to dynamite the industrial system."

Here is not only a repudiation of the American way of progress but a proposal of deliberate sabotage.

More recently the Assistant Secretary of State, A. A. Berle, Jr., testified last year before the Temporary National Economics Committee:

"Briefly the Government will have to enter into the direct financing of activities now supposed to be private; and a continuance of that direct financing must be inevitably that the Government ultimately will control and own these activities. * * * Over a period of years the Government will gradually come to own most of the productive plants of the United States. * * * The country will probably be deciding in the next few years whether the Government ought not to own, directly or indirectly, part of the national plants, such as railroads, electric-power and mineral resources; and the Temporary National Economics Committee may give us a final answer. * * *"

In fairness to him, Mr. Berle was not advocating. He was simply giving a frank statement of what is going on.

The issue is clearly defined—whether America is to be transformed into some form of state capitalism or socialism, call it what you will, controlled and owned body and soul by the Federal Government, or whether our system of private economy is to be revived. It is a part of the technique of left-wing New Dealers to use the Temporary National Economic Committee as a means of building up their case against business and in favor of Government ownership and control.

In the investigations made by the Committee, complete control of the hearings rest with one of the six departments and commissions represented on the Committee, among them the Securities and Exchange Commission. The selection of witnesses and the conduct of their examination rests with them. The witness may not submit any prepared statement of facts, except with the express permission of the agency conducting the hearing—which in many cases seems to regard itself as the prosecutor in the case—or of the Committee itself. He may not be examined or cross-examined by his own lawyer, but must confine himself to answering questions of the counsel of the Government agency in charge or of the Committee. The one-sidedness of such a procedure is clearly evident.

The Committee's chief aversion is the insurance business. During the hearings, no opportunity has been lost to cast aspersions upon the life-insurance business and to insinuate—as the New Deal

that it is glory enough to serve under any chief. It scorns to tread in the footsteps of any predecessor however illustrious. It thirsts and burns for distinction and, if possible, it will have it whether at the expense of emancipating slaves or enslaving free men." "Such a time," he declared, "will require the people to be united with each other, attached to the Government and laws, and generally intelligent."

It will require a renewal of our faith in ourselves and in our fellow citizens, and in our ability to solve our problems by mutual tolerance, respect, and cooperation for the common good. It will require a united determination to surge forward together to the conquest of new frontiers and the building of a better world, not only for ourselves but for future generations.

The country has known many days before. In the midst of the depression of 1837, even so great a statesman as Daniel Webster declared, "It is inconceivable that conditions can ever right themselves. Trade and industry are disorganized. Securities have fallen to one-half and even one-fourth of their value. Unemployment has become general."

And yet we know what happened. Who shall dare to predict the heights which we shall achieve if we have but the courage, the will, and the vision to seek and pursue the path of progress, as our forefathers did before us?

Upon the Republicans of today there rests a tremendous responsibility. Our party was founded in a dark hour when the Nation was threatened with dissolution to preserve and to carry forward the ideals upon which it was founded. The faith by which and the ideals for which Lincoln held the Nation together must live as long as America is to remain America. We of today must make ourselves the instrument by which that faith is carried forward and those ideals are brought closer to realization. Humbly dedicated to a crusade for the right as we see it, seeking victory as the opportunity for service, we shall not fail in this mission.

Let us, in the words of Lincoln, "Rise up to the height of a generation of men worthy of a free government, and we will carry out the great work we have commenced."

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Brisbane, Arthur

Today

Two Birthdays Remembered.
Best of Americans.
Lincoln's "Liberty."
No Timid Statesman.

By Arthur Brisbane

(Copyright, 1922)

Ask 100 Americans to name a few birthdays of men worth while; 95 will answer "February 12th and February 22nd." They know no other birthdays of famous Americans except July 4th, when the Declaration of Independence was born (By the way, when the Senate ratifies the agreement to let Japan and England manage the affairs of this country, it will cancel that declaration.)

Why is it that among 100,000,000 Americans only two National birthdays are remembered? The two men, Washington and Lincoln, are far apart in character. Washington was an aristocrat, standing at receptions with his hands behind his back—no shaking hands with common people for him. He rode in state with four fancy horses, was one of the richest men in America, believed in the rights of all men, but by no means in their equality. He was a fighter by profession and a magnificent fighter.

Lincoln, whose birthday is celebrated today, was the simplest of human beings. Any good man was his equal, he thought nothing of wealth. His feelings were those of other country Americans, brought up with the village store as their idea of cosmopolitan life, the county courthouse and the legislature their conception of grandeur's greatest height.

America honors these two men, utterly different, because they were THOROUGH. Washington was a thorough fighting aristocrat, fighting for the right of this part of England to separate from the rest. Lincoln was a thorough democrat, fighting to prevent one part of this country separating from the rest. They fought opposite fights. Washington on the battlefield wearing the military glory, Lincoln in council carrying all the worry and hate, no glory, content, as he said, to hold the stirrup for any man that would mount and fight efficiently.

Both won—that is the main thing; both were loyal, single-minded, sincere and courageous to a degree unknown to the common herd. There IS a common herd, and very common, although no one need include himself in it.

Washington represents the courage of the battlefield, the rare fighting courage that stands up under repeated defeat and treachery.

Lincoln's was the courage of patient, long, mental endurance. He could wait, and if every drop of blood drawn by the lash from the bodies of slaves must be paid with blood drawn by the bayonet he could still say, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

Britt

Lincoln Lauded In Tribute Talk By Pres. Britt

Kent Bus Oct. 27-29

The first of the college vesper services was held Sunday in Beecher chapel. President Britt was the speaker.

"Every man's life," he said, "is a sermon. His acts are his arguments, be they good or bad; and somewhere, somehow he writes his text." Not everyone has opportunity to write a clear argument and text, but Abraham Lincoln did leave to us a clear text for the sermon of his life. President Britt chose the closing words of Lincoln's second inaugural address as being the text by which Lincoln lived: "With malice toward none, with charity for all."

President Britt went on to show how Lincoln all through his life and especially during the four years in the White House was the victim of the malice those around him, and received but little of charity. But Lincoln's mercy and magnamity never faltered even in the midst of the worst criticism.

Immediately after his death, however, the tide turned and those who had lampooned and criticized him most mercilessly were first to turn the bitter jibe upon themselves. Lincoln waited long for that justice and mercy which he always gave.

Many conflicting judgments of Lincoln have been given was the president's conclusion but the final judgment of the world is best summed up in his own words: "With malice towards none, with charity for all."

Upon the urgent request of those who heard President Britt's talk he agreed to present it to the students of the college in chapel Monday. At the finish of the speech the applause of the audience attested their appreciation for the tribute to Abraham Lincoln by President Britt.

Brockington, Leonard D.

International Goodwill To Be Theme Of Lincoln Meeting

Ill. State 1-26-41

"A Message from Canada" will be the subject of the address to be given by Leonard W. Brockington, K. C., LL. D., regarded as one of Canada's greatest orators, at the public exercises to be held here Tuesday evening, Feb. 11, under the auspices of the Mid-day Luncheon club, commemorating the one hundred thirty-second anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln.

The exercises will be held at 8 o'clock in the Springfield High school auditorium.

Mr. Brockington was formerly chairman of the Canadian Broadcasting Corp., and is now special wartime assistant and confidential adviser to the prime minister of Canada, the Right Honorable William L. Mackenzie King.

Mr. Brockington, who is well known as a student of the life of Lincoln, plans to arrive in Springfield on Feb. 10, in order that he may have time to visit the Lincoln shrines here, and secure additional inspiration for his address.

The ranking guest of honor on this occasion will be His Excellency Dr. Francisco Castillo Najera, ambassador of Mexico to the United States, who has announced that he will speak on the theme, "Lincoln and the Americas." He will be the first speaker on the program. He and Mr. Brockington will be the only speakers of the evening.

Gunn To Be Chairman.

Chief Justice Walter T. Gunn, of the Illinois supreme court, will be the chairman of the evening and will introduce both Ambassador Najera and Mr. Brockington, following the formal opening of the program by Arthur H. Gottschalk, president of the Mid-day Luncheon club.

The invocation will be offered by Rev. Gay C. White, D. D., district superintendent of the Methodist church. The benediction will be pronounced by Rev. Alphonse J. Bertman, pastor of St. Aloysius church.

This program is expected to be one of the most unique and historic of any Lincoln memorial exercises ever held here, as it will carry the theme of international goodwill between the three leading nations of the North American continent.

An effort is being made to have personal greetings sent to Springfield, addressed to the gathering on Feb. 11, by President Franklin D. Roosevelt; President Manuel Avilla Camacho, of Mexico; and from Prime Minister King, of Canada.

LEONARD W. BROCKINGTON.

platform to receive the official party.

The exercises will follow a short concert program to be given by the Springfield High school orchestra, under the direction of Clarence F. Sauer, conductor. During the entrance of the official party, the orchestra will play Philip Phile's famous march, "Hail Columbia."

Preceding the presentation of Ambassador Najera, the orchestra will play the "Mexican National Hymn"; and will play "The Maple Leaf Forever," the national song of Canada, preceding the introduction of Mr. Brockington. The evening's program will be opened with the audience singing "The Star Spangled Banner" (Key). The audience will rise during the singing and the playing of these national airs.

The doors of the high school will be opened at 7 o'clock with the seating of the audience in charge of the Mid-day Luncheon club ushering committee, headed by Samuel J. Willett, chairman. The public is invited to attend the exercises. There will be no admission charge.

An invitation was extended to Postmaster General Frank C. Walker to speak at these exercises. He has found it impossible to leave Washington at that time.

Much interest is being shown in this program among people of Canada, with arrangements now under way for the program to be sent throughout Canada by radio, through the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. on the evening of Feb. 11.

Reception Planned.

A reception will be held in honor of Ambassador Najera and Mr. Brockington at 7:30 p. m. in the office of the high school, with a reception committee, headed by Mr. Gottschalk, including public officials and civic representatives of this city and central Illinois.

The guests of honor and reception committee will be escorted from the reception to the auditorium. for the exercises, by Adj. Gen. Leo M. Boyle, with Col. Clay M. Donner acting as host on the

Brooks, Phillip

Gems of American Eloquence

● *American eloquence has played an important part in the history of our country. From a long list of famous speeches The Tribune is selecting gems of American eloquence which are being presented in this, the Graphic Section, every Sunday. The content of these speeches is important both historically and politically. Persons learning to speak in public will find in them helpful lessons. Speakers and writers can learn a great deal from studying their style. This is the sixty-fourth of the series.*

WHILE the body of Abraham Lincoln lay in state in Independence hall, Philadelphia, Sunday, April 23, 1865, Phillips Brooks, a celebrated clergyman, delivered a eulogy in that city to the martyred President which has come to be famous because of the noble sentiments expressed therein and because of its excellence as an example of oratory. Brooks was not only a notable divine but an author as well. During the Civil war he upheld with dignity the cause of the north and the cause of the Negro. Consecrated Protestant Episcopal bishop of Massachusetts in 1891, he died two years later at the age of 57. Among his writings were the words of the favorite Christmas hymn, "O Little Town of Bethlehem." An excerpt from his eulogy of Lincoln follows:

"The cause that Abraham Lincoln died for shall grow stronger by his death—stronger and sterner. Stronger to set its pillars deep into the structure of our nation's life; sterner to execute the justice of the Lord upon his enemies. Stronger to spread its arms and grasp our whole land into freedom; sterner to sweep the last poor ghost of slavery out of our haunted homes. But while we feel the folly of this act, let not its folly hide its wickedness. It was the wickedness of slavery putting on a foolishness for which its wickedness and that alone is responsible, that robbed the nation of a President and the people of a father. . . .

"The new American nature must supplant the old. We must grow like our President, in his truth, his independence, his religion, and his wide humanity. Then the character by which he died shall be in us, and by it we shall live. Then peace shall come that knows no war, and law that knows no treason; and, full of his spirit, a grateful land shall gather round his grave and in the daily psalm of prosperous and righteous living thank God forever for his life and death.

"So let him lie here today, and let our people go and bend with solemn thoughtfulness and look upon his face and read the lessons of his burial. As he paused here on his journey from the western home and told us what by the help of God he meant to do, so let him pause upon his way back to his western grave and tell us, with a silence more eloquent than words, how bravely, how truly, by the strength of God, he did it. God brought him up as he brought David from the sheepfolds to feed Jacob, his people, and Israel, his inheritance. He came up in earnestness and faith, and he goes back in triumph. As he pauses here today, and from his cold lips bids us bear witness how he has met the duty that was laid on him, what can we say out of our full hearts but this: 'He fed them with a faithful and true heart, and ruled them prudently with all his power.'"

Phillips Brooks

The foregoing lines are from one of the finest tributes to Lincoln. Brooks' splendid choice of words, his dignified eloquence, and his great thoughts, here so nobly expressed, make the eulogy a masterpiece. No place in these lines, nor in any other part of the address, does the orator lean too far toward the sentimental. He knows exactly just how far to go to be most effective.

Reprints of the first 50 "Gems of Eloquence" may be obtained at Tribune Public Service Offices, Tribune Tower or 1 South Dearborn street, Chicago. Price, 25 cents for each portfolio of 25 (30 cents by mail) or 2 cents each for individual selections.

Brooks, Rev. Philips

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

(Born, February 12, 1809—Died, April 15, 1865.)

From the Eulogy Preached by Phillips Brooks When the Body of the Martyred President Lay in Philadelphia.

GOD brought him up as he brought David up from the sheepfolds to feed Jacob, his people, and Israel, his inheritance. He came up in earnestness and faith, and he goes back in triumph. As he pauses here to-day, and from his cold lips bids us bear witness how he has met the duty that was laid on him, what can we say out of our full hearts but this: "He fed them with a faithful and true heart, and ruled them prudently with all his power." The *Shepherd of the People!* That old name that the best rulers ever craved. What ruler ever won it like this dead President of ours? He fed us faithfully and truly. He fed us with counsel when we were in doubt, with inspiration when we sometimes faltered, with caution when we would be rash; with calm, clear, trustful cheerfulness through many an hour when our hearts were dark. He fed hungry souls all over the country with sympathy and consolation. He spread before the whole land feasts of great duty and devotion and patriotism, on which the land grew strong. He fed us with solemn, solid truths. He taught us the sacredness of government, the wickedness of treason. He made our souls glad and vigorous with the love of liberty that was in his. He showed us how to love truth and yet be charitable—how to hate wrong and all oppression, and yet not treasure one personal injury or insult. He fed *all* his people, from the highest to the lowest, from the most privileged down to the most enslaved. Best of all, he fed us from a reverent and genuine religion. He spread before us the love and fear of God just in that shape in which we need them most, and out of his faithful service of a higher Master, who of us has not taken and eaten and grown strong? "He fed them with a faithful and true heart." Yes, till the last. For, at the last, behold him standing with hand reached out to feed the South with mercy and the North with charity, and the whole land with peace, when the Lord who had sent him called him, and his work was done!

CONGER

Brooks, Phillips

PHILLIPS BROOKS ON LINCOLN

In Lincoln was vindicated the greatness of real goodness—and the goodness of real greatness. The twain were one flesh.

Not one of all the multitudes who stood and looked up to him for direction, with such loving and implicit trust, can tell you today, whether the wise judgments that he gave came mostly from a wise head or a sound heart. If you ask them, they are puzzled. There are men as good as he, but they do bad things; there are men as intelligent as he, but they do foolish things. In him goodness and intelligence combined made their best result of wisdom. For perfect truth consists not merely in the right constituents of character, but in their right and intimate conjunction. The union of the mental and moral into a life of admirable simplicity is what we most admire in children, but in them it is unsettled and unpractical. But where it is preserved into a manhood, deepened into a reliability and maturity, it is that glorified child-likeness, that high and revered simplicity, which shames and baffles the most accomplished astuteness, and is chosen by God to fill his purposes when he needs a ruler for his people of faithful and true heart, such as he had who was our President.

4/14/05

Brooks, William E.

COMES THE MOMENT TO DECIDE

BY WILLIAM E. BROOKS

**"Once to every man and nation
Comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of truth with falsehood,
For the good or evil side."** Forward 2-11-39

Lincoln's Greatest Hour

IT WAS a winter night in the little Illinois town of Bloomington, seven years before the Civil War. The Court for the Eighth District was in session and the lawyers who followed the circuit had ridden in buggies or on horseback over the winter roads to attend the session. They had straggled in, muddy and tired, to the little hotel, but the warm and plentiful supper had refreshed them, and then they had gathered round the fire in the common room for the discussion of the question about which everyone was talking then —slavery and what should be done about it. Even after they had gone to bed the discussion had gone on in the room that Abraham Lincoln shared with his friend Theophilus Dickey, until Dickey finally turned over and went to sleep, leaving Lincoln sitting on the edge of the bed deeply absorbed in his thoughts. When morning came Dickey wakened to find his tall companion sitting in the same place. As he stirred he heard Lincoln say, "I tell you, Dickey, this nation cannot exist half slave and half free." He had settled the question that night for himself as to what he would do and what he would say in the momentous years that lay ahead.

Three years passed and Dickey had forgotten the incident, but Lincoln had not. He was beginning the series of debates with his brilliant opponent, Stephen A. Douglas, for the prize of the senatorship from Illinois. The winning of that contest was vitally important to Lincoln. Life had not been easy for him, and to become a senator of the United States meant a great deal to his personal and political fortunes. It meant much also to the new Republican Party in the state. Douglas was a formidable opponent. He had great personal charm and ability, a host of enthusiastic followers, and he had already won for himself a national reputation as a skillful political leader to whom many were turning as their candidate for the Presidency in the fateful year of 1860, while Lincoln was hardly known outside his own state.

So much depended on how Lincoln handled himself in the debates, for before they began they had attracted the attention of men far beyond the borders of Illinois. Much depended on what he would say and what leave unsaid. There were some among his close friends and advisers who urged him to play safe, to beat Douglas at his own game of careful, cunning speech, saying nothing that would offend the voter or drive away the support of the man who was afraid of positive opinion.

A group gathered to talk over with him the things he would say in the first debate upon the morrow. He read to them the opening words of the speech he had prepared: "If we could first know where we are and whither we are tending, we would far better judge what to do and how to do it. We are now far in the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

The men who were listening intently threw up their hands in horror, urging him to omit the words. It would surely defeat him, they told him, for it would drive to Douglas every man who wanted to dodge the issue. He listened to them all and then quietly he gave his answer: "Friends, this thing has been retarded long enough. The time has come when these sentiments should be uttered; and if it is decreed that I should go down because of this speech, then let me go down linked to the truth—let me die in the advocacy of what is just and right."

He did go down in that contest. Douglas won the senatorship and went to Washington, and Lincoln went back to riding the circuit of a lot of little country towns. But that speech wakened the nation. It put the great moral and political issue that had to be settled by the country before the people of that country as it had never been put before. They could not evade it. The words rang through their minds again and again so that they could not forget them and they could not evade them: "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

One wonders what the history of the next years would have been like if Lincoln had listened to those who tempted him to be silent. Would Douglas have been President in his place? Would he have let slavery spread until everywhere over the land the Negro would have been a slave? Or would he have sought to check that, and then permitted the South to go in peace? And then would the nation have broken up into smaller nations—a dozen or more on this continent—with frontiers and forts and armies and threats of war all the time, as in Europe? Lincoln ended the possibility of that. And it all traces back to that long night when he thought his way through the problem, made his decision, and could not be moved from what his mind and his conscience told him was the truth.

We who live in the land that Lincoln preserved are also facing problems as vital and as perilous as that of slavery. They will be met as they only can be met by those who will think them through and then stand by the truth as they are led to see the truth, even though they lose an election or many another thing they wanted greatly.

Scouting and the Church

A weekly message from the Director of Young People's Work

ONE purpose of this weekly message is to present information regarding various phases of the young people's program in the church. An effort is made to suggest ways by which the various phases of the program

Brougher, Rev. Whitcomb, Jr.

GREAT EMANCIPATOR LAUDED IN SERMON

Rev. J. Whitcomb Brougher, Jr., preached at First Baptist Church of Glendale yesterday on "Lincoln." He said in part:

"From the very first Abraham Lincoln was interested in humanity. He did not believe that being human was being devilish. To him to be human was to be Godlike. He had great respect for human values. To be human was to be created in God's image. To be human was to be the dwelling place of the spirit of God. Because of his regard for humanity and because he recognized the value and importance of placing the spiritual, religious, human elements above material, physical and bestial elements, he was the great liberator of not only the slaves of the South but the masters of the South.

"Abraham Lincoln believed in the union of the States and not material prosperity, but his belief in human equality and his high respect for that which aroused his human sympathies made him put spiritual and eternal things uppermost in his life. He believed this so completely that even in material and physical laws he gave the human and spiritual elements the pre-eminence."

TWO GREAT PATRIOTS COMPARED IN SERMON

"Washington and Lincoln" is the subject of a sermon preached yesterday by Dr. John Snape at Temple Baptist Church. Excerpts from the sermon follow:

"It is a favorite fad with February speakers to bring the names of Washington and Lincoln into sharp and discriminating contrast. It is none the less possible to find instruction in a study of the things in which they did not differ. In their identification with a great cause, in their masterful leadership of men, in their faith in God, Washington and Lincoln were not dissimilar.

"Five words spell out the character and sum up the career of the Father of Our Country—virility, dignity, strategy, diplomacy, humility.

"And five words set forth the character and career of Lincoln—humility, humanity, sincerity, perspicacity, piety.

"One stood for the independence of the nation; the other for the preservation of the Union; but both stood for moral character based on religion and religion bound them to God."

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Brown, Rabbi FREDERICK
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FEBRUARY 14, 1931

LINCOLN IDEALS LIVE, SAYS RABBI BROWN

Survive Despite Pessimists' Views, He Asserts.

The idealism and compassionate attitude toward mankind which characterized Abraham Lincoln have not disappeared in America, despite the pessimistic views of many thinkers, Rabbi Frederick Brown told the congregation of Temple Ahavath Sholom, 1601 Ave. R, at services last night.

Answering the question "Does America Today Exemplify the Real Lincoln?" Rabbi Brown asserted he believed the principal characteristics of the Civil War President were still among the leading virtues of the American people.

"We are a simple, compassionate and idealistic people," he declared. "In our stumbling way we are carrying on the finer qualities of that great leader."

Expressing the belief that Americans need an ideal after which to pattern their lives, Rabbi Brown regretted the recent tendency to picture Lincoln as a quite ordinary individual. He characterized Edgar Lee Masters' biography as "a very interesting book," but indicated that he was not in sympathy with its "debunking" qualities.

"To Masters Lincoln was just a second rater, never a leader, a man who was always waiting to see which way the wind was blowing," the rabbi said. "He sees Lincoln as a social climber, jobseeker and a sort of hypocrite. Lincoln is pictured as having pretended to believe in churches because he realized it would further his ends."

Brown, Marshall

The Pittsburgh [illegible]
[illegible]

—FOURTEEN—

JUDGE HERE PAYS HOMAGE TO LINCOLN

"Abraham Lincoln was one of the greatest lawyers of his time."

The man who today pays Lincoln this tribute is a lawyer—a former judge—who shares his birthday. . . who is 85 years old today.

Marshall Brown, who was a Common Pleas judge in Allegheny County for 21 years, is one of Lincoln's staunchest admirers. He says:

"Stephen A. Douglas declared Lincoln had no equal as an advocate before a jury. More important, a high sense of honor marked his career at the bar."

Lincoln's name is a synonym of justice and goodness for all mankind, "Judge" Brown continued. He said:

"His sweet and tender heart touched the poor and lonely of the earth. He once said: 'God must have loved the common people, for He made so many of them.' If Lincoln were here today, he would be going about, Christ-like, among the people, gently praying that the good laborer and good capitalist join him over God's highway to Peace and Happiness."

Browne, Junius Henri

TRAITS OF LINCOLN.

JUNIUS HENRI BROWNE'S ESTIMATE OF HIS CHARACTER.

His Tenderness, Bravery and Common Sense—A Mysterious Personality—Full of Contradiction and but Little Understood. His Weakness and His Religion.

Abraham Lincoln was, in all probability—and every year strengthens the opinion—the greatest of Americans, living or dead, and beyond odds the greatest man of his time. Unquestionably a rare genius, and showing it in many directions, he has revealed nothing in his whole career that in the least interferes with the conviction. Not one of our countrymen has his obvious chance of immortality.

Lincoln, it is often said, has been idealized—idealized by the nation and the world. Perhaps he has been. So has every great man, from Pericles and Julius Cæsar down to Napoleon and Cavour. But men of immense power, of transcendent abilities only are so idealized or can be. To be idealized is the accompaniment of deathless fame.

The natives of the republic would seem to be divided into Americans and Abraham Lincoln.

The highest frequently springs from the lowest; in the darkest mire the most precious gem is sometimes hidden. Lincoln was born in what was then Larue county, Ky., under circumstances so forlorn and obscure that he had no early recollection of aught save abject poverty and the severest hardship. Of his own parentage he was always more or less uncertain, and he had not the slightest reason for hope. Yet he surmounted every obstacle, prevailed over the direst fate by unflinching determination, by the potency of his will. His example is a spur, an inspiration to every friendless, struggling youth in the land, and will be a stimulus, a strength, an assistance to thousands still unborn.

The great president often declared that extreme tenderness was his chief weakness; that he could not, under ordinary conditions, refuse mercy to any one for whom life was begged, and he never did refuse it. That extreme tenderness was really one of his grandest strengths and is the thing, above all others, that has embalmed and haloed his memory. He was as firm, where there was imperative need, as he was tender; there was a point of rugged duty beyond which he could not be moved. He was a shining instance of a man streaming with humanity, not without faults, not without ambition, but affluent of noble purposes and completely conscientious.

Notwithstanding the innumerable volumes that have been written about Lincoln, notwithstanding the endless comments, criticisms, explanations, analyses that have been offered of his character, he is still unknown, still somewhat a mystery. His true life is yet to be written. Simple as his nature was, in the main, it was also complicated and apparently full of contradictions, though, to one who could understand it, actually harmonious. His spirit was solitary; his being, like that of genius generally, grave, anxious, sad, from temperament, not surroundings. His jests, his stories, his occasional buffooneries were intended to relieve his oppression, often to conceal his thoughts and aims, and they commonly succeeded. To the mass he continues to be as a sealed book. He is one of the most tragic no less than of the grandest figures in history.

Abraham (meaning in Hebrew, father of a multitude) was, in spite of its special fitness, its prophetic quality indeed, very disagreeable to Lincoln from early boyhood. When he reached manhood, he fairly hated it. He could not bear the title so universally bestowed on him, Honest Old Abe, but he had too much sense, too much pride, to reveal his feeling. It was not his nature to refer to what troubled him, whether an important or trifling matter. If he had been an ordinary man, he would no doubt have changed his name, which no one could conceive of his doing. His dislike of the prænomen grew with his years, and he invariably wrote its initial alone.

It may seem strange that so great a man should be so affected by so small a fact, but a name is of more consequence than it seems. Even Cæsar, the foremost hero of all antiquity, who, as everybody is aware, was bald, took unwearied pains, when young, to conceal his baldness by carefully arranging the long locks of his hair over the bare spots. This would be thought frivolous in a commonplace mortal. How much more the imperial Cæsar?

Lincoln was a great admirer of Pope's "Universal Prayer," saying that it contained the substance of all Christianity. He frequently repeated it, and wondered that it was so little cited. This was his favorite stanza:

> Teach me to feel another's woe,
> To hide the fault I see.
> That mercy I to others show,
> That mercy show to me.

It is a singular circumstance that Lincoln's very brief Gettysburg speech, now familiar to the whole English world, fell dead on his vast audience at the time of its delivery. Nor did any one discover its extraordinary merit for months. Lincoln himself, with characteristic modesty, thought it a "poor affair," and was amazed when a London journal—the next spring, I think—praised it to the echo. This set the key. Every newspaper and periodical followed the lead, and the little speech immediately took rank as an effort unequaled on any similar occasion, as a great English classic. It is not often that native genius is detected in England.

Lincoln was, beyond everything perhaps, the incarnation of common sense (so called), which is the most uncommon sense, and rarer than the rarest genius.

Although one of the kindest hearted, most amiable, most peaceable of men, Lincoln was the embodiment of courage, as the incidents of his early life prove, as well as the incidents of his subsequent career. During his repeated visits to the front, while president, he gained, among the soldiers, a reputation for insensibility to fear, so careless, so indifferent was he to any and all danger.

Naturally and necessarily, a man of Lincoln's unassertive but resolute courage was distressed at having avoided Baltimore (contrary to his better judgment) on his way to be inaugurated at Washington, in obedience to the urgent, overwhelming advice of his friends. They only prevailed on him at last by assuring him that the Union cause demanded that he should zealously guard his life. He never failed to feel that he had made a great mistake by any apparent shirking of duty. He would rather have been assassinated a thousand times than not have made the journey direct, and the "mistake" afflicted him to his last consciousness.

No mortal creature has ever understood human nature better than Lincoln. He seemed to know all men by instinct. His perfect fair mindedness, his unconditional sincerity, so impressed everybody that the bitterest prejudices melted away under their influence.

Since the death of the eminent emancipator many persons have concerned themselves about his faith, his religious beliefs, and to little purpose. He has been called atheist, infidel, deist, partheist, orthodoxist, latitudinarian, rationalist, as most men of earnest thought and deep conviction are and have been. No one knows what he believed or disbelieved; he rarely talked of such things. But whatever his faith we are all convinced that his life was in the right; that he had an idea of God that should put believers in a pint pot Deity to shame. JUNIUS HENRI BROWNE.